UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A CRITICAL EDITION OF RACHEL SPEGHT'S *MORTALITIES MEMORANDUM*

BY

KIMBERLEY R.D. MCLEAN-FIANDER

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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DEDICATION

To my mother
and my foremothers,
with love, respect, and admiration.

ABSTRACT

Rachel Speght was an English Renaissance woman writer, best known for her involvement in the misogynistic Swetnam controversy of the early seventeenth century. Four years after the appearance of her defense of women, *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617), Speght published a long poem called *Mortalities Memorandum* (1621), which was prefaced by a shorter poetic work called *The Dreame*. In this prefatory poem Speght reveals her awareness of all the participants in the earlier misogynistic controversy and once again condemns Swetnam and others like him who believe that women should not be educated. The ensuing long poem, *Mortalities Memorandum*, written in response to Speght's mother's recent passing, is a treatise on death.

Since the first appearance of *Mortalities Memorandum*, it has not been reproduced *in toto* in the original spelling. This thesis presents the complete, original text of Speght's *Mortalities Memorandum*, with annotations. The critical introduction includes a complete history of the text, notes on style, summaries of *The Dreame* and *Mortalities Memorandum*, a bibliographical description, as well as a biography of Speght. The final part of the introduction situates Speght in both general and feminist literary history.

PREFACE

Rachel Speght is best known for her contribution to the Swetnam controversy of the early seventeenth century. In 1615, Joseph Swetnam's *Arraignment of lewd, idle, and froward women* was published in London. This collection of misogynistic commonplaces presented *en masse* for the entertainment of young men and husbands was immensely popular and saw at least ten printings before 1637. Since it was so poorly written, it is difficult to understand why *The Arraignment* was so widely read. The most likely reason is the fact that Swetnam's work unprecedentedly provoked three heated responses from women.[1] The first reply came from Rachel Speght, a nineteen year-old minister's daughter. Her work, *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617), sets out first to defend women and second to attack Swetnam's "illiterate and irreligious" work. Speght's well argued and level-headed rebuttal provided the spark that got the controversial fire going: within months of *A Mouzell for Melastomus's* appearance, two other answers to Swetnam, presumably written by women, were printed.[2]

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[1] In her "Counterattacks on the 'Bayter of Women': Three Pamphleteers of the Early Seventeenth Century," Ann Rosalind Jones provides an alternate reason for Swetnam's success. She suggests that he intentionally concocted *The Arraignment* in order to "turn the *Querelle des femmes* into a predictable and profitable farce, capable of amusing as many readers as possible" (46). Jones goes on to suggest that in a "strategic misunderstanding" (46), the three women who answered Swetnam misread him.

Four years after *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, Speght published a long poem called *Mortalities Memorandum*, which was prefaced by a shorter poetic work called *The Dreame*. The allegorical *Dreame* recounts Speght's struggle, as a woman, to attain knowledge. In this prefatory poem Speght reveals her awareness of all the participants in the earlier misogynistic controversy and makes room once again to condemn Swetnam and others like him who believe that women should not be educated. In the latter part of *The Dreame*, it becomes evident that the impetus for this work was Speght's mother's recent passing. Thus, the following long poem, *Mortalities Memorandum*, is a treatise on death. Here, Speght warns that death can come at any time and that we should ponder it more often in order to be better prepared for it when it comes to take us or our loved ones. The overall message is ultimately affirming and very Christian in outlook, as Speght imparts that death is both necessary and positive since it brings us eternal life with God.

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[2] Although it was courageous of Speght to prepare a written response to Swetnam, the temperateness of her defense did not satisfy all the women of her audience. After *A Mouzell for Melastomus* appeared in early 1617, *Ester hath hang'd Haman: or An Answere to a lewd Pamphlet, entituled The Arraignment of Women. With the arraignment of lewd, idle froward, and unconstant men, and Husbands* was published. This work was written by the pseudonymous author Ester Sowernam. Sowernam's response to Swetnam was more vitriolic than Speght's, and perhaps this was possible because she had the protection of a pseudonym. The last answer to Swetnam came from Constantia Munda, who wrote *The Worming of a mad Dogge; or a Soppe for Cerberus the Jaylor of Hell*. She draws heavily from Speght and Sowernam, but does not exercise the same control over her temper, and unlike her predecessors, offers no defense of women. She says her work is "No confutation, but a sharpe Redargution [strong refutation] of the bayter of Women." In her book *Women and the English Renaissance* (1984), Linda Woodbridge aptly describes the difference among Swetnam's three female opponents: "Sowernam had envisioned a courtroom, Speght a chivalric combat. Munda presents herself as a street scrapper" (100). In 1620, the controversy culminated in an anonymous play called *Swetnam, the Woman-Hater, Arraigned by Women*. This work, which stages a trial scene and has lawyers for the prosecution and defense arguing the relative culpability of men and women, draws upon the work of all the participants in the Swetnam controversy.

Since the first appearance of Speght's two works, they have not been reproduced *in toto* in the original spelling. Simon Shepherd reprinted *A Mouzell for Melastomus* in 1985 in a modern-spelling, lightly annotated edition. Excerpts of *Mortalities Memorandum* have appeared in a few anthologies of early writing by women over the last ten years, but this work has not received the serious attention it has deserved until now. While only two of Speght's works are extant, and there is no indication that she wrote anything else, they reveal that she was talented and full of promise and, indeed, a writer to be reckoned with.

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To my committee members, Dr. S. Bagchee (English) and Dr. L. Cormack (History): I appreciate your many readings and re-readings of my work. To Dr. G. Moyles (English), Dr. I. Grundy (English) and Caroline Faulkner (Classics): thank you for guiding me through hitherto unfamiliar territory. To the English Department Graduate Committee and Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research: thank you for the travel grants, which enabled me to go through that territory.

I recognize the following institutions and individuals in one breath, but I realize that my indebtedness to them is not insignificant: The University of Alberta Library, especially the Interlibrary Loans Office; The British Library; The Guildhall Library; The Bodleian Library; Merton College Library (Oxford), particularly John Burgass, Librarian; Huntington Library; Newberry Library; Folgers Library; Houghton Library; Katharine Pantzer, STC Compiler; Simon Shepherd, University of Nottingham; and all my friends who patiently listened to me go on and on about "some obscure Renaissance woman writer."

Finally, I acknowledge the love and encouragement of my family, without whom I could not have come this far.

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Title page of Rachel Speght's *Mortalities* Memorandum with *A Dreame Pre-fixed, imaginarie in manner;* reall in matter (1621). Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago. 90

ABBREVIATIONS

Benet	*Reader's Encyclopedia*
BDPF	*Brewer's Dictionary of Proverbial Language*
Bullokar	*An English Expositor (1616)*
Cockeram	*The English Dictionaries or An Interpreter of Hard English Words (1626)*
DCBLA	*Dictionary of Classical, Biblical, and Literary Allusions*
DCM	*Dictionary of Classical Mythology*
DL	*Diogenes Laertius' Lives*
DPE	*Dictionary of Proverbs in English*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*
EPPP	*English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*
HBD	*Harper's Bible Dictionary*
HDCLA	*Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature & Antiquities*
Herodotus	*The History of Herodotus*
Lives	*Plutarch's Lives*
MAR	*Mythology of All Races*
Morals	*Plutarch's Morals*
OCCL	*Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*
OCEL	*The Oxford Companion to English Literature (New Edition)*
ODEP	*The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs (Third Edition)*
Odes	*Horace's Odes*

OED	*Oxford English Dictionary (Second Edition)*
ROD	*Kissing the Rod*
SMITH	*Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*
SPL	*Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index*

BIOGRAPHY

METHODOLOGY[3]

Lytton Strachey, remarking on the problems of writing biographies of early figures, asked in the first few pages of his now famous biography of Queen Elizabeth I:

> By what art are we to worm our way into those strange spirits, those even stranger bodies? The more clearly we perceive it, the more remote that singular universe becomes. With very few exceptions...the creatures in it meet us without intimacy; they are exterior visions, which we know but do not truly understand.[4]

The details of Rachel Speght's life are so pathetically sparse that I will not even try to fool myself into thinking that I can "worm my way" into her spirit, as Strachey would have me do. I do not know where or when she was born, when she died -- or where, whether or not she had any brothers or sisters, where she lived after marriage, or who her mother was.

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[3] Methodological self-consciousness is one of the earmarks of modern criticism. Consequently, I want briefly to explain the approach I am about to take in my biography of Speght. Uncovering details about early women writers is often frustrating. One practically has to become a detective or archaeologist in order to discover or uncover the mystery of women's past. Because the search for clues frequently produces more anecdotal than factual information, I feel that my account of Speght will be more genuine and representative if I can try to impart the arduousness of such a task. Thus, instead of presenting just the few facts I acquired about Speght, I have decided to offer them in a narrative of my personal fact-finding mission.

[4] Lytton Strachey, *Elizabeth & Essex: A Tragic History* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1936) 8.

Indeed, almost everything I do know about her, after an exhaustive quest for information, is the result of educated guessing and supposition. My biography is filled with phrases like "she must have been," "it is possible that," and "we can imagine," phrases that Hester W. Chapman, a 20th-century biographer, says must be avoided at all costs. Chapman warns that when one is writing a "life of a person about whom nothing is known... the reader must not be reminded that there is no information about the principal figure."[5] She goes on to suggest that the biographer "tactfully and legitimately" deceive the reader by constructing a "concealed bridge" over the gaps in the life.[6] I choose not to follow Chapman's advice. Instead, I will write a conjectural account of Speght's life, and I will be consoled by the fact that other biographers have had to resort to a similar approach. One such biographer was Jacques Barzun, who wrote a life of Berlioz. Elaborating on the troubles of the biographer, Barzun said "Every biography is something like a detective story: a few clues are handled, a few witnesses examined and from them a complicated series of events is reconstructed."[7] Barzun could not have been more correct when he likened the biography to the detective story, and by extension, the biographer to the detective. There is no question that over the past two years of studying Speght I have become a bit of a sleuth. I have come across many clues (some good ones, many bad ones) and have gone down a number of dead-end streets, but happily, I have found a few solutions too. What follows, then, is the result of my investigation of a fascinating, though elusive, seventeenth-century woman.

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[5] Hester W. Chapman, "Notes on Historical Biography," *Biography as an Art: Selected Criticism 1560-1960*, ed. James Clifford (London: Oxford UP, 1962) 221.

[6] Chapman 221.

[7] Jacques Barzun, "Truth in Biography: Berlioz," *Biography as an Art: Selected Criticism 1560-1960*, ed. James Clifford (London: Oxford UP, 1962) 155.

THE STORY BEGINS

It was a case of near *tabula rasa* at the beginning. All that I knew for certain about Rachel Speght before I donned my deerstalker was that she published *A Mouzell for Melastomus* in 1617 when she was not yet 20, she published *Mortalities Memorandum* in 1621 after her mother had died, and that her godmother was Mrs. Mary Moundford. Armed with her name, I looked in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (*DNB*) first. There was no entry for Rachel Speght, but, under Thomas Speght, the well-known 16th-century Chaucer editor, Rachel was listed as "possibly" a daughter of his. The *DNB* also revealed that Rachel Speght's first work, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, was dedicated to her grandmother, wife of Dr. Thomas Moundford. This was momentarily exciting news until I recalled that Speght's first work was *not* dedicated to the wife of Dr. Thomas Moundford, but rather to "all vertuous Ladies Honourable or Worshipfull, and to all other of Hevahs sex fearing God."[8] Speght's second work, *Mortalities Memorandum*, was dedicated to Mrs. Moundford. Furthermore, Moundford was not Speght's grandmother, but, as the dedicatory epistle to *Mortalities Memorandum* reveals, she was Speght's godmother. Since the *DNB* had wrongly reported two of the three pieces of information it had on Speght, I questioned whether it had correctly attributed Thomas Speght as Rachel's father. I decided to examine a few other sources.

I perused Ann Crawford's *The Europa Biographical Dictionary of British Women* (1983), J.W. Saunder's *A Biographical Dictionary of Renaissance Poets and Dramatists* (1983), and Kathy Emerson's *Wives and Daughters: The Women of 16th-Century England* (1984). All of these works concluded that Thomas Speght was Rachel's father. I was almost ready to accept this information as fact until I noticed that Emerson perpetuated the myth that Mrs. Moundford was Speght's grandmother and Crawford created a new myth that Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* was the *last* of the responses to Joseph Swetnam's *Arraignment of lewd, idle and froward Women*, when actually it was the *first* response.[9] Also, I remembered having read in the second response to Swetnam's *Arraignment of Women*, that Ester Sowernam had referred to Speght as a "minister's daughter."[10]

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[8] Rachel Speght, "A Mouzell for Melastomus," *The Woman's Sharp Revenge*, ed. Simon Shepherd (New York: St. Martin's, 1985) 59. Hereafter cited as Speght, *Mouzell*.

[9] Since the anonymous play, *Swetnam the Woman-Hater Arraigned by Women* (1620), draws from Daniel Tuvil's *Asylum Veneris* (1616) as well as Speght's, Sowernam's and Munda's works, some critics have concluded that his work was the first response to Swetnam's *Arraignment of Women*. However, Tuvil's work does not directly address Swetnam's. In addition, in the introduction Tuvil suggests that his work had existed for quite some time before it was published. It looks as if

When I read Simon Shepherd's *The Women's Sharp Revenge* (1985) I came across another possibility for Speght's parentage. Shepherd claimed that Speght's father was a London minister called James Speght and not the Chaucerian editor, Thomas Speght. Shepherd also included additional information such as the name of Speght's spouse, the London parish she lived in, and the fact that she bore two children.[11] When I asked Shepherd where he obtained his information, he told me that he used a variety of sources, including parish registers, alumni catalogues of Cambridge and Oxford Universities, and peerage books and genealogical guides from the British Library. His answers seemed sound, and I assumed that his research was too. However, at this point I did not feel as if I could trust anyone except myself and I decided to verify

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Swetnam's piece may simply have provided an ideal climate in which to have a defense of women printed and Tuvil seized upon that opportunity. When Speght refers to the Swetnam controversy in her 1621 work, *Mortalities Memorandum*, she counts herself, Sowernam and Munda among the defenders of women, but does not even mention Tuvil. Regardless of whether Tuvil's work was the first response to Swetnam's or not, Ann Crawford remains in error when she lists Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* as the last.

[10] Ester Sowernam, "Ester hath hang'd Haman: An Answere to a lewd Pamphlet, entituled *The Arraignment of Women*," *The Women's Sharp Revenge*, ed. Simon Shepherd (New York: St. Martin's, 1985) 87.

[11] Simon Shepherd, ed. *The Women's Sharp Revenge* (New York: St. Martin's, 1985) 58.

everything he had told me and try to discover any other information I could about Speght.[12]

THE SEARCH FOR CLUES INTENSIFIES

To make the long story of my search for clues into a shorter one, it seems apropos to cite James Boswell, who in his advertisement to the first edition of the *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791) complained:

> Were I to detail the books which I have consulted, and the inquiries which I have found it necessary to make by various channels, I should probably be thought ridiculously ostentatious. Let me only observe, as a specimen of my trouble, that I have sometimes been obliged to run half over London, in order to fix a date correctly; which, when I had accomplished, I well knew would obtain me no praise, though a failure would have been to my discredit.[13]

That said, my overseas search began at the Guildhall Library in the City of London, where I acquainted myself with the

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[12] Since I began my research, two other biographical dictionaries have appeared: Janet Todd's *British Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide* (New York: Continuum, 1989) and Blain, Grundy, and Clement's *The Feminist Companion to English Literature* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1990). The entry for Speght in *British Women Writers*, penned by Simon Shepherd, and that written by Isobel Grundy in *The Feminist Companion*, are biographically correct.

[13] James Boswell, "Life of Samuel Johnson (1791)," *Biography as an Art: Selected Criticism 1560-1960*, ed. James Clifford (London: Oxford UP, 1962) 52.

International Genealogical Index and discovered a brief entry indicating that Speght was married in August, 1621. Foster's *London Marriage Licences 1521-1869* gave the following account:

> Procter, William, gent. [clerk in Vic.-Gen. book], bachelor, 29, and Rachel Speight, spinster, 24, daughter of Mr. James Speight, clerk, parson of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London, who consents,--at St. Mary Woolchurch, London. 2 Aug. 1621.

The parish register for St. Mary Woolchurch revealed that Rachel and her husband, William, were "both of St. Buttalphs Aldersgate" parish and were actually married on August 6, 1621, though they received their marriage licence on 2 August, 1621. These entries proved to be a goldmine of information for me. I now knew that Speght's father was not the Chaucerian editor, Thomas Speght, but rather James Speght, a parson of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street. I had a name and occupation for Rachel's husband. I was equipped with the names of a few parishes whose records I could scour to try to uncover more information. I had knowledge of Speght's age on a certain date, which enabled me to determine that she must have been born between August 3, 1596 and August 2, 1597. With these dates in mind, I examined London parish records to try to find a definite birth date for her. After a laborious search, I still had not come across any entries for a Rachel Speght having been born in London around that time. However, I did happen upon some valuable information.

SPEGHT'S FATHER

I discovered that Speght's father, James, was not only the parson of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, but that he was also one of the scribes who made the entries in the record book for this parish. In fact, he was responsible for keeping the parish chronicles from the early 1590s to 1610.[14] One would think that the church clerk would be particularly fastidious with the records when it came to his own family, and, in fact, James had a habit of making marginal notations (*) next to certain entries, which I can only assume had some special significance for him. One of the first of these notated entries that came to my attention was a burial entry for a Rachel Speght on 21 May, 1595. Since I knew that my Rachel Speght was born over a year after this date, I suspected that this entry was for an older sister who died in infancy and that my Rachel was named after her predeceased sibling, as was the widespread custom at this time. I carefully scrutinized St. Mary Magdalen's register for any signs of my Rachel, but found nothing. Moreover, an examination of numerous other City parish records revealed no trace of her, and because of this, I surmised that she might have been born outside of London. The following account explains how I eventually decided that Speght hailed from Cambridge.

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[14] It looks as though James Speght was responsible for going back through the old records and re-transcribing them into the *Register Book of Weddings, Christenings, and of Burials in the Parish of St. Mary Magdalen in Milk Street from 1559 to 1653*, because his handwriting is evident as far back as 1577. The uniformity of the earlier entries suggests that they were copied from another book to this one. About 1591, the uniformity stops, a sign that this was when Speght began to record events as they occurred. The last entry in Speght's handwriting occurs in the burial records on October 19, 1610.

Since Rachel's father, James, was a minister, I knew that he must have attended either Oxford or Cambridge to obtain his divinity degree. As I expected, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* disclosed the following. He was the son of John Speight or Speght of Horbury, Wakefield, Yorkshire. In 1590-1, at the age of twenty-six, he was ordained deacon in London and in May, 1591, he was made priest. He was rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London from 1592 to 1637 and of St. Clement's, Eastcheap from 1611 to 1637. He was granted his Bachelor of Divinity (B.D.) from Christ's College in 1596, eleven years after his first admission. In 1597 he was incorporated at Oxford, in 1623 he received his Doctor of Divinity (D.D.), and by 2 May, 1637 he had died.[15] His will is held by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (P.C.C.) in Deptford, Kent.[16] He was a religious author and possibly the father of two other Cambridge alumni, John and Nathaniel.[17] From this information, I was able to make a few suppositions. Since James was in London as early as 1590, but did not receive his B.D. until 1596, it looks as if he may have taken a position in London at which he worked during most of the year and then have spent the summer months in Cambridge trying to complete his degree. During this time, he most likely met and married Rachel's mother.[18] Presuming that his wife accompanied him as he travelled about, it is possible that she could have given birth to a child in London (the first Rachel Speght) or Cambridge.[19] I ventured that Rachel was born in Cambridge, since that was the centre of her father's academic life for at least an eleven year period (1585 to 1596), and since I found no record for her in London. Admittedly, though, she could have been born anywhere.

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[15] According to the parish records of St. Mary Magdalen church, James Speght was buried in the church on 7 April, 1637.

[16] I have been unable to verify this.

[17] Both Nathaniel and John are listed in *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* as "possible" sons of James Speght.

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[18] In Speght's time, fellows of Oxford and Cambridge were forbidden to marry as long as they held their fellowships, and they usually could not afford to resign their fellowships unless they obtained a church post (Stone 48). Although it is not indicated in the alumni records, it is conceivable that James Speght worked on, and may even have earned, a Bachelor of Arts degree during his first five years at Cambridge, as this was the usual path taken by one planning a life as a clergyman. When the position at St. Mary Magdalen arose, Speght probably felt that it was an offer too good to refuse. By taking the post in London, he would have had to resign from any fellowship he may have had, and thus would have been free to marry. The fact that Speght went on to earn a B.D. and a D.D. indicates that he had an intellectual bent, for these degrees were in no way necessary for a clerical career (Cormack).

[19] *Alumni Oxoniensis* and *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* report that James Speght was incorporated at Oxford in 1597. This simply meant that Oxford officially recognized the degree that Cambridge had granted to James Speght. Incorporation often took place without the person concerned in attendance. Therefore, although there is a chance that James Speght and his wife were in Oxford in 1597, it is unlikely that they would have travelled such a distance for a relatively commonplace ceremony. Consequently, it is reasonable to rule out the possibility of Rachel having been born there.

SPEGHT'S EDUCATION

With regard to Speght's upbringing, I knew nothing, but I could infer some details from her writing. She was obviously raised in a religious, and concomitantly intellectual household.[20] Her widespread knowledge of the Bible and classics can be seen on nearly any page of her works. There is textual evidence that she was familiar with Plutarch, Terence, Horace, Aristotle, Herodotus, Laertius, and possibly even Juvenal. Speght was also well aware of the literary traditions and genres of her own time and of that of her predecessors. She engaged in the "art of self defense" in *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, she employed the medieval allegorical dream vision in *The Dreame*, and she touched on the late-medieval *de casibus* tradition in *Mortalities Memorandum*.[21] She probably derived much of her knowledge from her father, his library, and any educated siblings she may have had.[22] However, it is also possible and likely that

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[20] Given James Speght's uncommonly extensive training (see note 18), it is clear that he was an intellectual. In fact, he published two works: a book called *A briefe Demonstration who have and of the certenty of their salvacon that have the spirit of CHRIST &c* (11 December, 1612) and a sermon called *The day springe of comforte* (29 October, 1615).

[21] For more information about the genres that influenced Speght, see "Speght's Place in Literary History" 53-82. These numbers, 53-82, refer to the page numbers of this thesis, found at the bottom center of each page. Numbers appearing in brackets () refer to the original page numbers of Speght's *Mortalities Memorandum*, found in the upper right or left hand corners of my reproduction of her text.

[22] *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* suggests that James Speght was the father of two other Cambridge graduates who appear in the alumni catalogue: Nathaniel and John. I have not been able to

Speght's godmother, Mrs. Mary Moundford, tutored her. An autobiography by Moundford's grandson declared that she was a caring and pious woman, known for taking in young girls and educating them.[23] I could not say with all certainty that Moundford did instruct Speght, but it was patent from Speght's loving dedication to her in *Mortalities Memorandum* that her godmother was a dynamic role model who had a profound

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confirm this claim. If these men were Rachel Speght's brothers, she would presumably have been able to learn from them as well as her father.

[23] The Moundfords were obviously close family friends with the Speghts. Mary Moundford grew up in Milk Street, and her father, Richard Hill, was a mercer there. *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* reveals that Thomas Moundford attended King's College, Cambridge. The Moundfords were married after August, 1583 and they returned to Milk Street to live in James Speght's parish of St. Mary Magdalen when Thomas completed his M.D. at Cambridge. There are sundry entries made in the parish records concerning the Moundfords, including the marriages and deaths of their servants, the death of their son, Richard, and the deaths of the Moundfords themselves. Dr. Moundford was an extremely successful physician to Queen Elizabeth I and King James I. He also held various positions such as fellow, censor, treasurer and president of the College of Physicians in London from 1594 to 1630. In 1622, he published *Vir Bonus*, a work praising King James I. His grandson, Sir John Bramston, describes him as "a learned and eminent man in that profession [physician] as any in that time" (7). Moundford went blind and died in his eighties in 1630 and was buried in the parish church. Sir John Bramston describes Mary Moundford as a "woeman of soe great virtue, soe modest, so devout, and so well grounded in religion that she never swerved from the doctrine and discipline of the church of England in the worst of times (tho' Case [a Puritan divine] tempted her often)" (13-14). He also mentions that she lived into her ninety-fourth year and even to the end she could read without glasses and could walk without the aid of a cane. After her daughter, Bridget [John Bramston's mother], died, Moundford, then in her sixties, moved into her son-in-law's house and took care of him, her grandchildren and her own ailing and blind husband, Dr. Moundford. She died in 1656 and was buried in St. Mary Magdalen church.

influence on her.[24]

SPEGHT'S PERSONALITY

An examination of Speght's works not only informed me about her education, but also apprised me of her opinion on a number of issues and made manifest certain elements of her personality. For instance, judging from her writing, it appeared as if she spent her teenage years struggling against people who felt she should participate in more feminine pastimes than acquiring an education. Her resentment over being unable to pursue her academic endeavours solely because she was a woman was evident in both her works. In *A Mouzell for Melastomus* she apologized for her scholastic insufficiencies in a brief introductory statement: "I am young in years and more defective in knowledge -- that little smattering in learning which I have obtained being only the fruit of such vacant hours as I could spare from affairs befitting my sex."[25] However, by the time she wrote *Mortalities Memorandum* in 1621, her feelings on this subject had intensified, for she devoted the entire prefatory poem, *The Dreame*, to this matter. Despite her very legitimate grievances, Speght clearly managed to steal enough time to study and acquired ample self confidence as she was growing up, for by the tender age of nineteen (1617) she had established connections with London's literati: she had read Joseph Swetnam's *Arraignment of Women* and was able to have her response, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, accepted for publication soon afterwards.[26]

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[24] When the biographer is faced with essentially no outside details about a writer's life, it is necessary to examine the works of that writer for any biographical details. Therefore, I have collected information about Speght's life not only from the non-fiction dedications to her works, but also from the works themselves. I have few qualms about doing this. On the one hand, *A Mouzell for Melastomus* is a sincere, non-fiction response to an acutely misogynistic work, and there is little reason to conclude that Speght's arguments reflect anything other than what she really believed. [See Woodbridge 88-91 for an alternate opinion.] On the other hand, although *Mortalities Memorandum* may have fictive elements, it is primarily a serious treatise that addresses many concerns similar to those of *A Mouzell for Melastomus*.

I gained further insight into Speght's personality from her compulsion to write this work as well as from the writing itself. It was apparent, for instance, that she was an unusually and refreshingly independent woman for her time. She sensed no need to hide behind a pseudonym as many other female writers did during the Renaissance[27] and she felt confident enough to employ the "chivalric diction traditional to 'champions of women'"[28] in *A Mouzell for Melastomus*. For example, in the dedicatory epistle to this work she told her readers that she would "encounter with a furious enemy"; she was "armed" and carried a "buckler"; she faced "the persecuting heate of this fierie and furious Dragon" [Swetnam]; and that a wide variety of women of would come together as "spectators of this encounter."[29] Linda Woodbridge has rightly suggested that "the image [was] that of a fearless, militant woman who use[d] her own name, opposing a treacherous coward."[30] However, Speght's militancy was not the only attribute that I found revealed in her writing. She evidently had good training in logic and in the formal aspects of argument, for her response to Swetnam was calculated and controlled. She refrained from showing her temper, and by so doing, combatted the stereotype that women were unable to keep a check on their emotions. She was frankly aware that by speaking out her reputation was at stake, but attempted to deflect any criticism by professing that her forthrightness was not the result of her gender but of her youthfulness. Since any public act by women was connected to immodesty and even sexual looseness, it was virtually obligatory for them to apologize for their writing. Hence, the traditional *modesty*

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[25] Speght, *Mouzell* 74. Speght's protestation of inadequacy may be affected modesty, a standard trope in her time. See pages 15-16 below for further explanation.

[26] Any connections that Rachel's father had with the London printing world [see note 20] may have made it easier for her to be taken more seriously than a woman normally would have been. The fact that James Speght was a writer was at least known by those in London's literary circle who suggested that he had written Rachel's first work, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*.

[27] Even Speght's successors in the Swetnam controversy, Ester Sowernam and Constantia Munda, used pseudonyms. Because their replies were more caustic than Speght's, they may have felt that it was necessary to protect their identities behind false names.

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[28] Linda Woodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1984) 87.

[29] Speght, *Mouzell* 60. Linda Woodbridge should be credited with noticing the chivalric diction used in this passage. See Woodbridge 87.

[30] Woodbridge 87.

topos was used with "vivid intensity"[31] by Renaissance women who were aware that, by entering the male domain of writing, they were defying the prescribed role for women. Speght cleverly used this convention not only to self-deprecate, but also strategically to divert her detractor's attention away from her gender and onto her age. She thus apologized for her "tenderness in years" and the fact that she was "the unworthiest of thousands," no doubt realizing that a youth was often allowed to escape the censure that an older, wiser person could not.

But Speght possessed both youth and wisdom. Despite her greenness in years, I discovered that she was a writer with real vision. She was a proto-feminist, in being one of the first English woman writers to address not only the role of women, but also the nature of womankind.[32] She argued that husbands should share domestic burdens with their wives; and she refused to see any humour in anti-woman jokes.[33] In addition, she would not consider women in a way which ignored social and cultural context. As Woodbridge has remarked: "Speght's historical relativism [was] impressive."[34]

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[31] Margaret Hannay, *Silent But for the Word* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP) 1.

[32] The nature of womankind was discussed, before Speght, by Jane Anger who wrote *Jane Anger her Protection for Women* (1589).

[33] Speght was not a feminist in the modern sense of the word. While she obviously cannot tolerate misogyny and she makes a pretty strong argument for women's education, she does concede that men are the head of women and that women are the weaker sex. Because of this, Woodbridge maintains that any successes Speght makes in the area of the equality of the sexes are hampered by her overtly Christian outlook. I partially agree with Woodbridge, but think that if we consider Speght in the context of seventeenth-century society and culture, her ideas stand out as exceptionally egalitarian. I suggest that we call Speght either a proto-feminist or

Another of Speght's characteristics that easily impressed me was her surprisingly feisty intellectual and argumentative spark, manifest in her second work, *Mortalities Memorandum*. In the introduction to this work, she castigated the critics of *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, who suggested that her father had written it, by declaring that credit should be given where credit is due. She went on to explain that one of the reasons she wrote *Mortalities Memorandum* was to gain recognition "for her own rights sake" as an articulate and capable writer. Not many women of the time would have written such works in the first place and fewer would have mustered the courage to defend themselves publicly, but Speght not only recounted her frustration in the introduction, she also crafted the entire prefatory poem, *The Dreame*, into a thinly disguised story of her personal tribulations and a defense of women's right to education in general.[35] In the main poem, a treatise on death, other features of Speght's personality were discernible to me, such as the fact that she was not too keen about housework,[36] that she was deeply concerned for the poor, and

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Christian feminist. For more on this, see "Speght's Place in Literary History" (66).

[34] Woodbridge 90.

[35] See "Summary of *The Dreame*" 44-49.

[36] See *Mortalities Memorandum* (28).

that she was a devout Christian.

SPEGHT'S MOTHER

While *Mortalities Memorandum* helped to shed light on Speght's character, it also provided me with a few more biographical details. As mentioned above, I was able to tell from the dedication that she highly esteemed her godmother, Mary Moundford. I also discovered that Speght wrote this work in response to her mother's death.[37] Mrs. Speght must have died between 1617 when *A Mouzell for Melastomus* appeared and 1621 when *Mortalities Memorandum* was published. The poignant tone of the latter work indicated to me that she may have died fairly close to its publication date, perhaps sometime in 1620. Other than this, I knew nothing of Speght's mother. The London parish records I checked did not reveal anything about her. They did, however, show that Speght's father, James, at the age of 57, was married to 41 year-old Elizabeth Smith of Newington, Surrey, widow of the Southampton merchant, Henry Smith, on 12 February, 1621 at St. Clement's Eastcheap. This meant that James was remarried less than a month after *Mortalities Memorandum* appeared. Because of this, I thought that Speght might have been upset with her father's "o'er hasty" remarriage, and thus published *Mortalities Memorandum* in a subversive, though ineffective, attempt to prevent him from going through with his wedding plans.[38] Admittedly, this was speculative, and when I weighed in mind that Rachel's own marriage proceeded with her father's consent just a few months after his remarriage, it seemed unlikely that there was much ill will harboured between them.

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[37] See *The Dreame* (10-11).

SPEGHT'S HUSBAND AND CHILDREN

Since she was raised in a religious household, I found it appropriate that Speght married a clergyman, William Procter. A glance into *Alumni Oxoniensis* revealed some interesting details about Procter. He hailed from Somerset and entered Oriel College at Oxford as a plebeian. He matriculated on 20 October, 1609, aged 16. (He was, therefore, born between 21 October, 1592 and 20 October, 1593). He obtained his Bachelor of Arts on 9 February, 1613 and his Master of Arts on 5 February, 1616. However, for these two degrees, he used the surname "Matthews."[39] I decided that a possible reason for this alternate name could have been that his family name was somehow disgraced and that he wished to dissociate himself from any scandal. However, it was also conceivable that, as he entered Oxford as a plebeian, he was there on a scholarship or that his education was paid for by a benefactor or patron. If the latter were true, Procter might have called himself "Matthews" because it was the name of his patron.[40] As far as I was able to tell, the William Procter who published a sermon called *The Watchman Warning* (1625) was Speght's husband.[41] If this was correct, some details from the introductory pages of this work uncovered more about Speght. The title page of Procter's work said that it was "a sermon preached at Paul's Cross the 26th September, 1624," but the epistle to the reader was signed William Procter, "From my house at *Upminster*, in

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[38] This scenario is possible, especially if one considers Rachel's obvious sense of despair over her mother's recent death and if one interprets *Mortalities Memorandum's* angry introductory statement about Speght's censors attributing *A Mouzell* to her father as a sign of her contempt for him.

[39] *Alumni Oxoniensis* and *Registrum Universitatis Oxoniensis* show that Speght's husband matriculated in 1609 as William "Procter" or "Proctor." However, for his B.A. and M.A. he used the name William "Matthews," "Mathews" or "Mathew." He was also called "William Mathew alias Proctor."

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[40] It seems odd that when William Procter entered Oxford in 1609 he was a plebeian, but by the time he married Speght in 1624 he was considered a gentleman. There are a few possible explanations for such a change in social status, which was quite common among students in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. By associating with those of higher rank, one potentially could elevate one's own rank. Sometimes, earning an M.A. brought the status of gentleman with it (Cormack). On the other hand, since the matriculation statute of 1565 established a scale of fees by which the son of an esquire paid 20 pence, a gentleman paid 12 pence, and a plebeian paid 4 pence (McConica, *The Collegiate University* (1986) 726), a member of the gentry could have indicated in the college register that he was a plebeian so that he could pay lower tuition fees (Cormack). Although plebeians would normally include the sons of farmers, yeomen, townsmen, merchants, and probably the lower clergy (McConica 723), their social status was not necessarily an indication of wealth, for there were many of them who were more affluent than the socially superior gentry. Evidently, many poorer gentleman did not mind calling themselves plebeians for a short while, as long as it meant they paid lower fees. After all, when they completed their education, they could resume using their gentle titles (Cormack).

[41] The title page of *The Watchman Warning* indicates that its author, William Procter, had a Master of Arts degree. There were no other William Procters in either the Oxford or Cambridge alumni catalogues who had their M.A. degrees by 1624 and who could have written this sermon.

Essex, this 20 of October, 1624." From this information I determined that Speght and her husband must have had a house in Upminster, Essex which is now a part of Greater London's east end. However, some other facts indicated that they must also have resided part-time in or have gone into the City of London on a fairly regular basis. As noted above, they were listed as residents of the parish of St. Botolph's Aldersgate on their marriage licence in 1621. In addition, in my search for any of Speght's offspring, I discovered in the parish records for St. Giles Cripplegate two baptismal entries that looked as if they were for her children. One entry showed that Rachel, a daughter of William Procter, minister, was christened on 28 February, 1626 and the other indicated that William, son of William Procter, was christened on 15 December, 1630. To recapitulate, in 1621 Speght was in London, in 1624 she was in Upminister, in 1626 and 1630 she was back in London. Since it was unusual that there was no record for any children for five years after her marriage and there was a four year gap between the births of the children there were records for, I surmised that Speght might very well have spent some of her time between 1621 and 1626 and between 1626 and 1630 (having children, perhaps) outside of London. On the other hand, she might simply have had difficulty bearing children or she could have had children who died at birth or in infancy. As I knew it was traditional for parents at this time to name their first children after themselves, it was possible that the girl born in 1626 and the boy born in

1630 were the only children to survive parturition.

SPEGHT'S DEMISE

I gathered that Speght gave up writing for parenting, since there was no indication that she published anything after *Mortalities Memorandum* in 1621 and, unfortunately, I was unable to find anything about her, including a death record, after 1630. The fact that she used the Geneva Bible, favoured by the Puritans, in her writing, at first led me to believe that she might have been a Puritan.[42] That being the case, she could have emigrated to the New World along with many others who left England about this time. Upon further reflection, though, I decided that she probably was not a Puritan since her father held various Church of England positions, such as deacon, priest, and rector, since her husband was listed as a clerk in the book of the Vicar General,[43] and since she had close connections with Mrs. Moundford, who stayed true to the Church of England, despite Puritans' attempts to sway her. Therefore, Speght most likely died in England; I or someone else may, then, still find a record of her death.

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[42] It is clear that she used the Geneva Bible, as the phrasing of the biblical passages she includes in her work resembles that of the Geneva rather than the King James version of the bible. Also, she refers to Adam's wife as "Hevah" rather than "Eve," a telltale mark of the Geneva Bible. However, just because she used this version of the bible does not mean that she was a Puritan. As Lewis Lupton has indicated in his *A History of the Geneva Bible*, it was one of the most widely used bibles from its first appearance in 1580 to 1640. Shakespeare, for instance, quoted from it in many of his plays.

[43] The Vicar General was a Church of England official assisting the bishop or archbishop in ecclesiastical causes.

SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS

It has been said that all biographies have tragic closure since they move towards death. This tragedy has been even more intense with women writers, because their death has meant defeat. For the most part, once they passed away, so did the female voice. Their works were buried along with them. By undertaking this project on a little known seventeenth-century woman writer, I hope to prevent this from happening at least to Rachel Speght. While I concede that Speght's life is veiled to us because she lived so long ago, I know that it is inaccessible mainly because she was a woman.[44] Just as the seventeenth-century Speght had little feminine heritage to draw upon, so do twentieth-century women. Addressing this concern, Margaret Hannay says in the introduction to her book, *Silent But for the Word*:

> The problem of the woman writer has traditionally not been the anxiety of influence but the anxiety of absence. Until recently, each woman -- denied the knowledge of her predecessors -- has been forced to devote much of her energy to self-

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[44] I also understand that the details which I have mentioned and emphasized in my biography of Speght most likely reveal more about me, a twentieth-century woman, than about the seventeenth-century Speght. However, I cannot escape the culture in which I live, just as Speght could not escape hers.

> justification, defending her right to be learned and articulate.[45]

This statement sums matters up very well. First, despite the fact that Speght and her female cohorts produced intelligent and valuable works, they consistently had to apologize for the fact that they were women. Second, in the process of editing Speght's *Mortalities Memorandum*, I have found myself justifying to others that what I am doing is worthwhile and necessary. It has been especially difficult trying to prove that Speght's works are worthy of being read, because I have had to struggle with the definition of what makes good literature. When nearly all that we have had to look at in the Renaissance has been produced by male writers, we must conclude that our conception of the good or great literature of the time is necessarily inadequate. I hope that my providing knowledge of at least one of our female predecessors -- Rachel Speght -- will put both male and female readers in a better position to decide if her work is worthy of being read. As far as I am concerned, Speght's and many other early women's writing is good enough to merit serious attention. It is good enough to justify the inclusion of the "other half of humankind" in our study of early literature. In short, it is good enough to make revising the literary canon a worthwhile task.

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[45] Hannay 1.

CHRONOLOGY OF SPEGHT'S LIFE AND WORKS

1596-97 Born between August 3, 1596 and August 2, 1597 in Cambridge (?), the daughter of James Speght, rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London.

1611 Her father is made rector of St. Clement's Eastcheap, London.

1612 On 11 December, her father's book, *A briefe Demonstration who haue and of the certenty of their saluacon that haue the spirit of CHRIST &c.*, is entered in the Stationer's Register.

1615 On 8 February, Joseph Swetnam's *Arraignment of Women* is entered in the Stationer's Register; on 29 October, her father's sermon, *The day springe of comforte*, is entered in the Stationer's Register.

1616 On 14 November, at the age of nineteen, her first work *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, an answer to Joseph Swetnam's *Arraignment of Women*, is entered in the Stationer's Register.

1617 On 4 January, Ester Sowernam's *Ester hath hang'd Haman* is entered in the Stationer's Register; on 29 April, Constantia Munda's *The Worming of a mad*

	Dogge is entered in the Stationer's Register.
1617-20	Her mother dies, probably in 1620 (?).
1621	On 18 January, her second work, *Mortalities Memorandum* is entered in the Stationer's Register; on 12 February, at St. Clement's Eastcheap, her father, 57, marries 41 year-old Elizabeth Smith of Newingtion, Surrey; on 6 August, at the age of 24, Rachel marries William Procter, 29, at St. Mary Woolchurch, London.
1624	On 2 October, she resides at Upminster, Essex (?); on 25 November, her husband's sermon *The Watchman Warning* is entered in the Stationer's Register.
1626	On 28 February, her daughter, Rachel, is christened at St. Giles, Cripplegate, London.
1630	On 15 December, her son, William, is christened at St. Giles, Cripplegate, London; her godmother's husband, Dr. Thomas Moundford dies and is buried in St. Mary Magdalen Church; sometime after 1630, Speght dies.
1637	On 7 April, her father is buried in St. Mary Magdalen Church.

1656 Her godmother, Mary Moundford, dies and is buried in St. Mary Magdalen Church.

IMPETUS FOR WRITING

Although initially *Mortalities Memorandum* was intended for "private contemplation," the beginning of the Dedicatory Epistle reveals that among the many reasons for its publication, the most important was that it might benefit many people by reminding them of their mortality and thus better prepare them for their "latter end." However, Speght's impetus for writing is not wholly philanthropic, for she concomitantly reveals the fact that a group of "critical readers" unfairly and incorrectly attributed her *Mouzell for Melastomus* to her father and that her present work, *Mortalities Memorandum,* was produced to prove for her "right's sake" that she is a learned, articulate and capable writer. Further, she wishes to express her loving gratitude to her godmother, Mary Moundford, and reveal to all that Moundford had not been neglect in her duties, evidence which can be seen in Speght's devoutly Christian approach to and message in her writing.

Although these are the only reasons expressed in the dedicatory epistle, further motivation for writing *Mortalities Memorandum* may have come from Speght's own need to come to terms with her mother's recent and sudden death. In the final stanza of *The Dreame*, it is poignantly clear that Speght was deeply affected by the loss of her mother, for she lamentingly ponders: "The roote is kil'd, how can the boughs but fade?"

(11).[46] However, in her characteristic fighting spirit, reminiscent of that displayed in the Swetnam controversy, Speght goes on to suggest that she will overcome her grief by confronting death. She does this in the following work, *Mortalities Memorandum*.

Connected to this stimulus for writing is another that, again, is not explicitly stated by Speght, but that may be conjectured. If we take the suggestion above, that Speght wrote in order to deal with her mother's death, as correct, then we would have to assume that her mother had passed away relatively recently. Considering that *Mortalities Memorandum* was entered in the Stationer's Register on January 18, 1621, we might conclude that Mrs. Speght died in the latter half of 1620. If that were the case, it may surprise us to learn that on 12 February, 1621, less than one month after *Mortalities Memorandum*'s first appearance, Speght's father, James, was married for the second time to a 41 year-old widow named Elizabeth Smith. If we take into account Speght's obvious sense of despair over her mother's death and interpret her angry introductory statement about her censors attributing *A Mouzell* to her father as a sign of contempt for him, there is room for the argument that Speght was upset with her father's

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[46] As indicated in note 21, the bracketed number (11) here and throughout the introduction indicates the original page numbers of Speght's *Mortalities Memorandum*. Her page numbers appear in the upper right or left hand corner of the page. The page numbers of this thesis appear at the bottom center of the page. Speght's text is reproduced on pages 91 - 133 of this thesis.

"o'er hasty" remarriage and that her publication of *Mortalities Memorandum* was a subversive, though ineffective, attempt to prevent him from going through with his wedding plans. Admittedly, this is speculative, and when one weighs in mind that Rachel's own marriage, which took place just a few months after James's remarriage, proceeded with her father's consent, it seems unlikely that there was much ill will harboured between them. Still, this latter reason remains as a possible impetus for her writing this work.

NOTES ON STYLE

This work is divided into two sections: the main poem, *Mortalities Memorandum*, a piece about death, is prefaced by a shorter poem called *The Dreame*. Both are composed in six-line stanzas of iambic pentameter. *The Dreame* is made up of 50 stanzas, *Mortalities Memorandum* of 126; both have a rhyme scheme of *abcbdd*. Occasionally Speght uses a shortened form of a word in deference to the rhyme scheme, but for the most part, she demonstrates controlled mastery of the language.

METER/PROSODY

Speght is metrically very skilled. She uses the accentual-syllabic metrical system, which was "fashionable during ages interested in classical rhetoric and committed to a sense of human limitation and order."[47] This relatively conservative metrical practice is appropriate and effectively used in *Mortalities Memorandum* because it can sustain both a long performance and a weighty subject. In conjunction with this, Speght employs the metrical continuum of iambic pentameter, departing from it only expressively. For example, against the established iambic background, the following thematically important stanza, with its many metrical substitutions, stands out as unique:

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[47] Paul Fussell, *Poetic Meter and Poetic Form*. Rev. ed. (New York: Random House, 1979) 10. In this metrical system, both the number of syllables in the line and the pattern of accented and unaccented syllables are measured. According to Fussell, "variations in accent position, addition, or omission are more readily accepted than variations in the number of syllables per line" in this system (10). Because of its relative rigidness, this metrical system works well for long poems.

> Both man and woman of three parts consist,
> Which *Paul* doth bodie, soule, and spirit call:
> And from the soule three faculties arise,
> The minde, the will, the power; then wherefore shall
> A woman haue her intellect in vaine,
> Or not endeauor *Knowledge* to attaine. (5)

Immediately, the pyrrhic ("-man of") and spondaic ("three parts") substitutions in line one constitute an unexpected change of rhythmical movement. In addition, the parallel structure of line one's "three parts" with line three's "three faculties", and line two's "bodie, soule, and spirit" with line four's "the minde, the will, the power", is markedly distinct from preceeding stanzas. The syntactical symmetry of these lines reinforces the semantic message about men and women -- that they are equal. The anapest ("-er; then where") of line four relieves the monotony of straight iambic pentameter and, along with the caesura in the middle of this line, draws attention to the important announcement that follows it. In addition, the enjambment of lines four and five builds momentum because it spurs the reader on to the serious message in the closing line of the stanza -- that women should be educated and be allowed to use their intellect. After the reader has been wrenched into recognizing the crucial point in her argument, Speght recovers iambic regularity in the final line.

Speght also demonstrates her erudition by playing with language. She has fun with sound: "In heauen there is no *maladie* or paine, / But *melodie*, true comfort to maintaine" [italics mine] (18). She enjoys repetition too:

> But there are riches without toyle attain'd;
> Myrth without mourning, solace without sorrow.
> Peace without perill, plentie without want,
> Where without asking, God doth all things grant.
> (18)

In this passage, which contrasts the merits of heaven with the hazards of earth, both the repetition of initial consonant sounds (*i.e.*, alliteration) and the recurrence of the word "without" help Speght to achieve her prosodic and rhetorical effect. The alliteration is useful here because it emphasizes the binary opposition that exists between the paired words "Myrth" and "mourning," "solace" and "sorrow," and "peace" and "perill." Although "anguish," "grieving," and "danger" could easily have replaced the latter words in these pairs and would have been just as good if not better antonyms to "myrth," "solace" and "peace," they are not nearly as aurally or rhetorically effective. Thus, by alliteratively intensifying the disparateness of the paired words and by reiterating the word "without," Speght artfully illustrates the measureless plenitude of heaven (riches, myrth, solace, peace, plentie) and the endless penury of earth (toyle, mourning, sorrow, perill, want).

DICTION

Speght also demonstrates her stylistic ingenuity through creative use of language. She achieves wonderful effects from balancing Latinate with Anglo-Saxon diction. She provides rhythmic variety by juxtaposing long with words with short words. And, she appeals to her audience's sense of the familiar by sprinkling in a few proverbs. However, unlike her adversary, Joseph Swetnam, whose work is essentially a mixture stuffed with raw maxims that leaves his readers hungry for substance, Speght's work is a judicious blend in which proverbs serve only to enhance what is already hearty fare. For example, the title page of *Mortalities Memorandum* bears the following thematically significant proverb: "Liue to die, for die thou must, / Die to liue, amongst the iust." This expression, which appears twice in a slightly altered form in the main work, does not detract from the piece, but rather serves as a pithy summary, a sort of garnish, for it. Similarly, the seven other proverbs in the work simply provide delicate seasoning to the already healthy repast.

TONE

Speght is witty, but is careful not to mix humour indiscriminately with serious matter. For example, in the introductory poem to the reader, fittingly composed in nursery rhyme-like dactyls, she mocks her critics' intelligence by addressing them as "common" readers. She derisively points out that these "ignorant Dunces" are quick to find error in others' works and yet they themselves are not particularly well acquainted with the Muses. In the more serious *Mortalities Memorandum*, however, Speght's wit is decidedly different. She no longer directly affronts a specific group, but indirectly mocks all of humanity. Following the example of Juvenal's Tenth Satire, "On Aspirations," Speght belittles human beings' futile attempts to conquer death. By juxtaposing the great names of Pope Adrian, Anacreon and Fabius (32) with the insignificant agents of their demise -- a gnat, a grape, and a hair, respectively -- she both cleverly undermines human vanity and demonstrates how death makes a mockery of even the greatest. Similarly, although the absurd image evoked by the final line in the following passage may initially seem comical, when the line is considered in context, it appropriately emerges as more satirical than humourous:

> Some die by sicknesse, other by mishap,
> Some die with surfeit, other some with want:
> Some die by fire, some perish by the Sword,
> Some drown'd in Water swim vnto the Lord. (32)

The satire arises from the fact that even though people consider dissolution to be serious and solemn, death does not care about dignity in our final hour. Thus, our rigorous attempts to defeat death are foolish, for it will inevitably come for us and we may very well end up taking a rather ludicrous route on the way to meeting our maker. Although Speght's satire is the most penetrating here, it does surface elsewhere in *Mortalities Memorandum*. In fact, one could argue that the entire work should be considered a satire, for it falls into a tradition that was cultivated by Juvenal, and imitated by a host of Speght's predecessors.[48]

FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

Though thematically dissimilar, *The Dreame* and *Mortalities Memorandum* are consolidated through a sustained use of images and metaphors. For example, Speght employs maritime imagery in a number of ways. *The Dreame* begins with a few nautical terms: the setting sun is described as taking "harbour" (1) in the West and the final point of Speght's journey is referred to as the "Hauen" (2) of her voyage. In *Mortalities Memorandum* she likens our unpredictable life on earth to the sailor's "[u]ncertain, fickle, irkesome" (36) life at sea:

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[48] The English Renaissance was a paradoxical time in which people saw themselves, on the one hand, as exalted beings created in God's image and gifted with divine reason, and, on the other hand, as distinguishable from the beasts only by their pride and vanity. Thus, whereas many writers considered the downfall of a great person as tragical and others treated it as satirical, in many works there was an assimilation of both tragic and satiric elements. Speght's *Mortalities Memorandum* seems to fall into this latter category. She was likely influenced by earlier texts such as Boccaccio's *The Fates of Illustrious Men*, Chaucer's *The Monk's Tale*, and Baldwin's *A Mirror for Magistrates*. While these works are most often referred to as *de casibus* tragedies, they also sermonized about *contemptus mundi*, *hubris*, and fate, topics which are almost inevitably found in satire. By doing this, these works altered later conceptions of tragedy. (Although Boccaccio is usually recognized as the inventor of the genre and of the term *de casibus virorum illustrium*, Juvenal might better deserve the credit, for, over a millenium before Boccaccio, he lists and dicusses the fates of illustrious men in his *Satire X*.) By Speght's time, then, it was common to find both tragic and satiric elements integrated into works, and thus it is sometimes difficult to identify the genre of these works. By the eighteenth century, the demarcation between tragedy and satire became more obvious. As a result, one can easily recognize a work like Samuel Johnson's "Vanity of Human Wishes" as satire.

> Mans life on earth is like a Ship at Sea,
> Tost on the waues of troubles to and fro,
> Assayl'd by pirates, crost by blustring windes,
> Where rockes of ruine menace ouerthrow.
> Where stormes molest, and hunger pincheth sore,
> Where *Death* doth lurke at euery Cabbin dore. (23)

Later, she explains that just as "the force of flouds which ouerflow" (34) cannot be resisted when it comes, neither can death be resisted by human beings. She also counts drowning as one of the many ways in which we can die. A vegetative metaphor is another trope that appears again and again: Speght refers to Erudition's garden (4, 7), to reason's root (5), to obstacles that grow in her way (5), to knowledge as a plant (6), to the parent-child relationship as analogous to that of a tree's root and bough (11), and to infants and old people respectively as the buds or blossoms and the mature fruit on a tree (31).

Medical (2, 3, 4, 7), judicial (27, 29, 35), and battle metaphors (6, 10, 34) also find their way into Speght's work, but far and away the most pervasive is an economic metaphor. She seems almost obsessed with pecuniary matters. She makes several references to the biblical rich man/poor man story (19, 24, 29, 37). She repeatedly alludes to the fact that life is "lent" to us (37) and that the "wage" of our sins is death (13). She illustrates that we are contractually bound, as Adam's heirs, to "pay" for what he received -- life -- and lost again (36). She says that "We in this life are Tenants" (31) and should think upon the time at which our "lease" (31) will expire. She points out that death steals upon everyone -- the Prince and his subjects (15, 30), the rich and the poor (22). Eternal death is called the "stipend of the Reprobate" (14). Speght even advises that we not begrudge the effort it takes to obtain knowledge because it is worth "purchasing", "at any cost", since it will free us from our ignorance (6).

Speght not only gets currency from the economic metaphor in her poetry; she also tenders it in the introduction to her work. In her list of reasons for writing *Mortalities Memorandum*, she says that she does not want to keep her works to herself when they could profit others. In support of this, she twice paraphrases and then retells the parable of the talents[49]. When God gives us a talent, we must put it to good use so that we and others may gain from it. This economic parable appears again when Speght argues in *The Dreame* that woman's intellect is a god-given talent and must be "imploy'd" in order to earn the biggest return. Though it might be considered odd that a woman writer was so concerned with economics, Speght's interest was indicative of the time, for many Renaissance writers were obsessed with the idea of the distribution of wealth.[50]

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[49] Originally, a talent was an ancient weight and money of account of varying value used among Assyrians, Greeks, and Romans.

GENRE

What might at first appear to be a pedestrian use of the allegorical dream vision is actually a subtle subversion of it. *The Dreame* does have properties similar to any other dream vision found in literature. A narrator falls asleep and dreams about going on a journey. Along the way, the dreamer encounters a number of personified abstractions, some which assist her in her expedition, others which try to impede her progress. Eventually, the voyage ends in an earthly paradise or *locus amoenus*. Here, the dreamer comes to a realization of the Christian truths she already knew in her head but needed to learn in her heart -- that this earthly garden will fade and that she must turn her heart to the real paradise in heaven. However, Speght employs the conventional dream vision in an unconventional way. While this genre is often used to relate intimate experiences, she applies it in a more intensely personal manner by recounting, as Simon Shepherd has aptly called it, her "intellectual autobiography."[51] She thus refers to specific historical events from her life, such as the Swetnam controversy and her mother's death.[52] In addition, although Speght uses a medieval genre, she does not buy into either of the typical medieval depictions of women.[53] In fact, she turns the whole medieval chivalric tradition on its head. For example, her predecessors usually wrote about a knight who went on a quest for an exalted, idealized lady, a paragon of grace, beauty and virtue, perhaps the symbol of a high spiritual goal. The lady was the subject of the knight's passion but also the cause of his bitter suffering, for she was remarkably beautiful yet unattainable. Parallel to this is Speght's insurgent appropriation of the genre: the hero is no longer a dashing, young Knight, but is rather a young woman, Speght herself; the exalted, idealized goal is not a lady, but is rather a state in which that lady will be allowed to learn as much as a man. Knowledge[54] is the subject of her passion, but unfortunately it, too, is unattainable. Also, just as through the attainment of the lady the knight can find salvation, so, it seems, can Speght through the attainment of knowledge.

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[50] See Shakespeare's *King Lear* (1606), Bacon's "Of Adversity" (1625), and other works, such as the Jacobean city comedies, especially those by Middleton. Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down* (1972) discusses some radical seventeenth-century texts that address this topic.

[51] Shepherd 58.

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[52] These points make it evident that the seemingly impersonal narrator actually represents Rachel Speght herself.

[53] As Marina Warner points out in *Alone of All Her Sex*, medieval writers modelled their women after either the impeccable Virgin Mary or corrupted Eve. The former figure provided chivalric writers with a paradigm of the perfect woman whom they could elevate and praise. Unfortunately, it was impossible for real women to emulate the holy mother, because they, unlike her, could not be both mothers and virgins. At the other end of the spectrum was Eve, the paradigm of the fallen woman, who writers could castigate and blame for the Fall. Any real woman who could not successfully copy Mary was regarded as an Eve figure.

[54] Knowledge encompasses not only learning, but also the knowledge of God. See *The Dreame* (8).

Whereas traditionally, one finds beneath the surface of an allegorical fiction a structure of meaning that accords with the general tenets of Christianity,[55] Speght's fiction conceals a story with noticeable Christian overtones, but which is primarily about the wrongs of women. She not only champions her sex by denying the medieval notion of the idealized lady and by advocating the education of women, but she also defends her sisters by refusing to accept that Eve, as the irrational temptress of man, is to be blamed for the downfall of all humanity. Unlike most of her male contemporaries, when Speght retells the Creation story, she makes it clear that while Eve did sin, Adam was *equally* culpable.[56]

MARGINALIA

While Speght may be at odds with her contemporaries in terms of scriptural interpretation, she is not unlike them in her employment of scriptural marginalia. Since the Bible was the supreme source of authority in the Renaissance, many writers, in an attempt to empower their own work, quoted from it excessively. Then, to highlight their knowledge, they identified in the margins of their texts the biblical passages that they had cited. Since such efforts to parade one's wisdom grew out of a very patriarchal tradition, there are some fascinating implications when a woman seeks to become a part of that tradition. Is the patriarchal practice of the time so entrenched in Speght that she cannot escape it? Or is she aware of the masculine quality of marginalia, and yet consciously decides to use it in order to show that women, too, can draw on the authority of the Bible? Also, why does she include marginalia for her biblical references but not for her classical allusions? One possible answer to this final question is that Speght is hesitant to consider anything other than God's word as a source of authority. Then again, her decision to include only biblical marginalia could have been made for other very diferent reasons, such as the following. On the one hand, since the primary reason for educating women at this time is to enable them to read the Bible and be molded into good Christian subjects, Speght might not want to highlight her own classical training lest her readers decide that she is already too learned for a woman. On the other hand, she might be trying to show that women have no claim to any other source of authority other than the Bible, and, by pointing out such a deficiency, encourage a more liberal approach to the instruction of women. While these suggestions might help to clarify *how* Speght utilises marginalia, it is less easy to explain *why* she includes marginalia at all.

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[55] According to Sir Phillip Sidney, in his *Defence of Poesy*, allegory veils a profound truth beneath a pleasing surface.

[56] See *Mortalities Memorandum* (13) and *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (70).

Suffice it to say that, regardless of her motivation for using it, marginalia does lend a measure of authority to her work.

SUMMARY OF *THE DREAME*

After the description of the onset of sleep and the beginning of the dream, the narrator, Speght, enters a strange place (1) and encounters *Thought* who asks her what is wrong. She answers: "My grief, quoth I, is called *Ignorance*" (2). *Thought* informs her that she may obtain a cure for her malady by acquiring *Experience* and states that *Age* will have to assist her on the journey (3).

When Speght asks *Age* how to gain *Experience* it says that "the only medicine for [her] maladie" is "*Knowledge*, of the which there is two sorts/ The former sort by labour is attain'd,/ The latter may without much toyle be gain'd" (4). *Age* goes on to report that *Knowledge* can be found in *Erudition's* garden; it then offers the aid of *Industrie* to get Speght there safely (4). But *Disswasion* appears and tries to convince her that she is unable to acquire *Knowledge* because she is a woman:

> *Disswasion* hearing her [*Age*] assigne my helpe,
> ....
> Did many remoraes [obstructions] to me propose,
> As dulnesse, and my memories defect;
> The difficultie of attaining lore,
> My time, and sex, with many others more.
>
> Which when I heard, my minde was much perplext,
> And as a horse new come into the field,

Who with a Harquebuz [gun] at first doth start,
So did this shot make me recoyle and yeeld. (4)

However, when *Desire*, *Truth* and *Industrie* detect Speght's fear, they rally against *Disswasion* and charge that it will fail in its mission to prevent her from attaining *Knowledge* (5). *Truth* goes on to reveal *Disswasion's* folly by explaining that since men and women are alike in body, soul, and spirit, it only makes sense that they should be given an equal opportunity to acquire knowledge:

...then wherefore shall
A woman haue her intellect in vaine,
Or not endeauour *Knowledge* to attaine. (5)

Then, in order to prove to *Disswasion* that women are capable of learning, *Truth* draws from a catalogue of respectable women in history, offering such names as *Cleobulina*, *Demophila*, *Cornelia*, *Aspasia* and *Hypatia* (5-6). *Truth* concludes by convincing Speght that *Disswasion* cannot daunt someone who has a constant mind (6). *Desire* then calls on *Industrie* to escort Speght to *Knowledge* (7).

Speght gets to *Erudition's* Garden, the *locus amoenus*,[57] by way of *Instruction* and there she discovers that "True

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[57] The *locus amoenus*, or pleasance, was an established rhetorical device in medieval nature description, and in fact, the principal motif of all nature description up to the sixteenth century. It was a "beautiful, shaded natural site," "an earthly paradise" filled with bird song, exotic spices, and an abundance of flowers (Curtius 195, 198). Speght's vision of the earthly paradise as a garden in which women can learn as much as they want tells of the frustration she obviously felt living at a time when women were meant to busy themselves with duties other than obtaining an education.

Knowledge is the Window of the soule" (8). Because of this, she covets *Knowledge* daily more and more, and she is told that it is a "lawfull auarice" (8) to do so. Speght continues to enjoy herself until, she says, "some occurrence called me away" (8) which

> made me rest content with that [knowledge] I had,
> Which was but little, as effect doth show:
> And quenched hope for gaining any more,
> For I my time must other ways bestow. (9)

In the space of these few lines Speght quietly conveys her immense frustration about and resentment of being unable to pursue her academic endeavours solely because of her gender. She wisely does not name her persecutors, but since this sentiment is juxtaposed with her retelling of the Swetnam controversy, it is likely that she is referring to those who condemned her for participating in such an unfeminine public debate and for not being intellectually competent for such a task.

Despite this criticism, Speght is neither afraid nor reluctant to describe Swetnam in an uncharitable manner. With justifiably untempered rancour she calls him

> a full fed Beast,
> Which roared like some monster, or a Deuill,
> And on *Eues* sex, he foamed filthie froth,
> As if that he had had the falling euill. (9)

She then succinctly summarises the whole Swetnam ordeal in the next three stanzas. She defensively explains how Ester

Sowernam, "a selfe-conceited Creature," felt that Speght had inadequately muzzled Swetnam and therefore was compelled to write her own work, *Ester hath hang'd Haman*. She follows by noting that not even Ester could keep Swetnam quiet and that the assistance of Constantia Munda, "the childe of Prudence," was necessary in order to make the "franticke dogge [Swetnam], whose rage did women wrong... hold his tongue" (9).

After she recounts the misogynistic quarrel, Speght proceeds on her journey, but unfortunately encounters a "fierce insatiable foe" (10). That foe is *Death*, and before she knows it, it has seized upon her mother. Speght is aroused from her sleep by her own "teares and sobs" only to discover that her dream is true:

> For *Death* had ta'ne my mothers breath away,
> Though of her life it could not her bereaue,
> Sith she in glorie liues with Christ for aye;
> Which makes me glad, and thankefull for her blisse,
> Though still bewayle her absence whom I misse.
>
> ....
>
> The roote is kil'd, how can the boughs but fade?
> (10-11)

Speght's supple and sensitive poetry helps not only to evoke her deep anguish but also to summon compassion from any reader who has experienced a similar loss. In addition, the vegetative metaphor of the root and bough is especially effective for describing the impact that the death of a parent has on a child.[58] In Speght's case the impact was obviously profound, for it is with an angry and spirited voice that she declares in the final stanza of *The Dreame* that she will "blaze [proclaim; spread news about] the nature of this mortall foe" with the hope that others who will have to deal with death might be better prepared.

Before summarizing *Mortalities Memorandum*, the poem in which Speght "blazes" death, it might be useful to ponder why she wrote the prefatory poem, *The Dreame*. It appears as if it is a sort of transition piece, connecting her 1617 prose work, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, with *Mortalities Memorandum*. The poem addresses the same kind of issues as *A Mouzell*, but in a more compact and poetic way. Thus, whereas *A Mouzell* is a defense of women in general, *The Dreame* is a specific defense of women's right to education. In both, though, the important topic is women and their inequitable treatment in a patriarchal world. Apparently, Speght felt that her work on women's behalf was not fully accomplished in *A Mouzell*. After all, she does say in the dedicatory epistle of *Mortalities Memorandum* that one of her reasons for writing this, her second work, is to vindicate her right as a woman to participate in the public act of writing and publishing and to be respected and acknowledged for doing so. *The Dreame* provides Speght with a chance to tell of her own unfair experiences and express her opinions about them under the canny guise of a dream or story, and, in effect, get in the last word in the ongoing misogynistic debate about women. Once she finishes with this task, her mind is clear to attend to the serious business of discussing the topic at hand: death. Thus, she offers the account of her mother's demise. The elegy to her mother is pivotal, for up to this point Speght's work has included details about her own personal life, mainly the trials and tribulations of her pursuit of knowledge. The story of her mother's death is still a personal detail, but it also serves as the starting point for Speght's more general reflections or meditations on death which come in the main poem, *Mortalities Memorandum*.

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[58] In Speght's time, vegetative metaphors were commonly used to describe the drastic effects that death could have on a person. For example, in "Shore's Wife" from *A Mirror for Magistrates* (1563) Thomas Churchyard explains Jane Shore's ill-fated career as follows: "They broke the boughs and shak'd the tree by sleight, / And bent the wand that might have grown full straight." Christopher Marlowe modified this same expression for his *Doctor Faustus*: "Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight." Speght's use of the vegetative metaphor, therefore, is simply a variation on a long-enduring theme. See also *Mortalities Memorandum* (31).

SUMMARY OF *MORTALITIES MEMORANDUM*

Speght begins *Mortalities Memorandum* by explaining that death was originally inflicted on human beings as a curse (15), but is actually a blessing. She describes the three types of death mentioned in scripture: "*Death* in sinne," "*Death* to sinne," and "*Death* by sinne" (14). Of the last of these, there are two sorts: corporal death and death eternal. Corporal death, that "Portall of true Paradise" (15), is common to everyone, from the prince to the peasant (30). It is this death which separates the body from the soul. For godly people, it frees their souls from the bodys' prison house (16),[59] delivers them from future sorrows and calamities (17) and releases them from the bondage of enthralled woe (17) so that they may join Christ in heaven (26). However, for the wicked[60] corporal death is only the beginning of their woes (27); they also must experience death eternal, also known as the "second death" (15), in which their bodies *and* souls will be separated from the love of God.

In the latter half of the poem, Speght asserts that if human beings only consider death's "*Necessitie*," (27)

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[59] The idea of the body as a prison house for the soul was prevalent throughout the Middle Ages and carried over into the Renaissance. *Contemptus mundi* was the notion that we should have contempt for the world since it is simply a filthy, despicable stopping place on our spiritual journey to eternal life in heaven.

[60] Those who come under the category of the wicked include the fearful, the unbelieving, the abominable, and murderers, whoremongers, sorcerers, idolaters and liars *[Rev.21.8]*.

"impartialitie," (29)[61] and "*vncertaintie*" (30), they will be better able to accept it. She also reminds them that God himself advises people to think "upon our end" (33), for after all, "Premeditation is the best defence / Against this foe, which will with none dispence" (34). She then enumerates seven good reasons for people to ponder death: it prevents careless security; it makes people less afraid; it prompts human beings to condemn the vain world in which they live;[62] it makes people want to eradicate their lust; it allows people to weigh in mind life's shortness and inconstancy; it lets individuals reflect upon their sins, which may motivate them to alter their ways so that they may become more faithful before they die; and it reminds people to settle their estate so that their last moments will not be wasted fretting about those left behind, but rather spent composing themselves in anticipation of their imminent meeting with God. Speght finishes with a benediction in which she asks the Lord to assist human beings in their daily lives so that they may fulfil His expectations and ultimately reign with Him in heaven for eternity.

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[61] To help prove her point about death's impartiality, Speght employs the late-medieval *de casibus illustrium virorum* convention of listing the fates of famous people to show that no one, no matter how famous or illustrious, can escape death. She includes classical names such as Alexander, Croesus, and Xerxes, but also mentions biblical figures such as Absolom, Samson, Solomon, Dives, and Saphira.

[62] See *Mortalities Memorandum* (13) and *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (70).

Simply put, *Mortalities Memorandum* offers a lesson in Christian theology and *The Dreame* offers a lesson in life, expressed in allegorical terms. However, Speght's work is not quite this uncomplicated. Sandwiched in between these two lessons is the elegy to Speght's mother, which is pivotal, for there likely would have been no poem, no allegory, if Speght had not suffered the loss of her mother. Thus, although she declares in the final stanza of *The Dreame* that she composed *Mortalities Memorandum* in order to comfort and benefit others who will have to deal with death, her efforts are not exclusively altruistic. Speght needs to write this work as much for herself as she does for others. Furthermore, while an examination of only *Mortalities Memorandum* might reveal Speght as a devout Christian who has no qualms about death, it is evident from the last few lines of *The Dreame* that she herself has struggled, as most people do, with the seeming unfairness of death. As a Christian, she is glad and thankful for her mother's new-found bliss, but like any other human, she ardently bewails her mother's absence.

SPEGHT'S PLACE IN LITERARY HISTORY

It is not my objective in this section to provide an exhaustive survey of Renaissance thought, but rather to offer a brief summary of some of the more germane points of that thought in order to describe broadly the value structure of English society in Speght's time and to situate her in that structure. The cultural context in which Speght lived and wrote has been thoroughly explored over the last few decades by a number of eminent Renaissance scholars. Therefore, in order to avoid repeating what has already been said, a footnoted compendium of the best resources has been provided and will be referred to as necessary in the course of the discussion.[63]

CULTURAL CONTEXT

Rachel Speght lived in a paradoxical and complex age. On the one hand, the resurgence of classical thought brought to new heights the notion of the individual. As people came to believe that they were modelled after the divine creator and were gifted with reason, they gradually began to realize the amazing potential of the individual. As a result, humans were exalted among all creatures. However, on the other hand, remnants of the sombre, self-denunciatory thought that had existed in the Middle Ages persisted. Up to and including the Renaissance, humans' pride and vanity were regularly condemned and people were often considered to be only marginally better than the beasts.[64] The new secular emphasis on the individual was often at odds with Christian principles, though many authors attempted to merge temporal and spiritual spheres in their writing.[65] For the most part, though, a war -- sometimes overt, sometimes unconscious -- raged between the glorification and denunciation of the self, between enjoying what this world had to offer and having contempt for all things mundane. The combatants in this war were the great writers of the day, their pens the weapons, and their writing the battleground.

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[63] See Carroll Camden's *The Elizabethan Woman* (1952), Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine's *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (1986), Joan Kelly's *Women, History & Theory* (1984), Ruth Kelso's *Doctrine for the Lady of the Renaissance* (1978), Katharine Rogers' *The Troublesome Helpmate: A History of Misogyny in Literature* (1966), Lawrence Stone's *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (1977), Linda Woodbridge's *Women and the English Renaissance* (1984), Louis B. Wright's *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (1935), and Francis Utley's *The Crooked Rib* (1970).

As a writer in this complex age, Speght was inevitably affected, though perhaps not always directly, by the rhetorical turmoil of the time. Her *Mortalities Memorandum* is an embodiment of centuries of Christian and secular thought. However, the literary conventions[66] and social issues that influenced her are so inextricably intertwined that it is virtually impossible to discuss them separately. For example, mention of the debate genre calls out for consideration of the *querelle des femmes*, which, in turn, solicits attention to the whole Swetnam controversy and the role of Speght's first work, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, in that controversy. Further, not unlike Steven Greenblatt and other new historicist critics who assert that literature does not exist in a sphere distinct from the history that is relevant to it, I believe that Speght's writing was simultaneously influenced by social reality and was an influence on that reality. Thus, the ensuing discussion will at some points concentrate on forces that influenced Speght and at other points focus on the impact she had on the world around her.

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[64] Such thoughts are expressed in Pope Innocent III's *De Miseria Condicionis Humanae*, Boccaccio's *The Fates of Illustrious Men*, Chaucer's *The Monk's Tale*, and Lydgate's *The Falls of Princes*. These medieval authors were intensely concerned with the topoi of *contemptus mundi* and the vanity of human wishes, but, to be fair, it should be mentioned that they addressed various other subjects in their works, such as love, marriage, and greed.

[65] Evidence of this can be seen in both Petrarchan love sonnets and medieval romance. In these genres, a man's lustful pursuit of a lady was likened to a virtuous quest for a spiritual ideal. The idealized woman was a paragon of all Christian goodness and beauty. Thus, by attaining her, the man could realize his two equally important goals: physical satisfaction and spiritual salvation.

HUMANISM

Rachel Speght lived at a time when women were expected to be chaste, silent, and obedient observers of life, not active, vocal, intelligent participants in it. She lived at a time when the private life of the home was a woman's domain and the public life of the court, trade, and academia was the man's. She lived at a time when women were suspected of being dangerous and subversive and men were unquestionably thought to be morally superior. In short, she lived in an intensely patriarchal and misogynistic time.

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[66] The term "convention" is used here in its most inclusive sense and thus incorporates both topoi (*i.e.*, *contemptus mundi*, the vanity of human wishes) and entire genres (*i.e.*, satire, *de casibus* tragedy, the debate genre).

Despite the fact that humanism, which opened up many paths of intellectual pursuit, had its genesis in England nearly a century before Speght lived, it was a movement that was beneficial chiefly to men. Admittedly, it *was* humanism that allowed for the limited and carefully screened education of some females, but even the few women who were educated had continually to defend their right to be learned and articulate. Mary Ellen Lamb recognizes this fact in her essay "The Cooke Sisters: Attitudes toward Learned women in the Renaissance." She says:

> The professed goals of a humanistic education were perverted when they were applied to women. According to the tenets of humanism, learning was supposed to enable an educated person to benefit the state, to influence the ruler toward the good. But for women, education was merely a way of keeping them busy, much like the sewing which occupied their less learned sisters, in a fashion which did not threaten the established power structure. Instead of a means to exert control, education was, for women, a further means of being

> controlled. Their new education did not reflect any change in the old misogyny.[67]

That the "old misogyny" was still extant is blatantly apparent when one examines just a few of the works about women that existed in sixteenth and seventeenth-century England.

THE DEBATE GENRE AND THE *QUERELLE DES FEMMES*

Though the debate genre had existed since classical times, from the Middle Ages onwards, the *querelle des femmes* or the woman question was one of its favourite topics.[68] Perhaps the simplest way to describe the formal controversy about women is to summarize Linda Woodbridge's work in this area. Her seminal book, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540-1620*, offers the definitive account of the Renaissance debate genre's contribution to the *querelle des femmes*. It informs us that the works of the formal controversy "all foster a sense of genuine debate;" they argue "a thesis about Woman, with the help of rhetoric and logic;" they "address the nature of Woman in general;" they "deal exclusively with the nature of Woman;" they all "use exempla--historical and/or literary examples, usually biblical and classical in origin, of good women or bad;" they "catalogue women's faults or virtues;" they all "argue their cases theoretically, relying heavily on abstractions;" and they employ "classical oration and dialogue" as the chief literary modes.[69]

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[67] Mary Ellen Lamb, "The Cooke Sisters: Attitudes toward Learned women in the Renaissance." Silent But for the Word. Ed. Margaret Hannay. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1985) 124.

[68] According to E. Talbot Donaldson, misogynistic satire had "its foundation in the monastic culture that so dominated much of European thought in the Middle Ages" (7).

This particular brand of debate flourished in the Renaissance, despite and partly because of the new humanism.[70] I say "despite," because, as indicated above, there is a tendency to believe that humanism brought about positive change for all. Indeed, since many humanist scholars argued on the defense side of the woman question, the notion that they were the first feminists is understandable. However, although early Tudor humanists such as Hyrde, Vives, Erasmus and More were some of women's chief defenders against misogynistic attacks, even they felt that women were educated for different reasons than men. Hyrde said that the purpose of a woman's learning was to provide "especiall conforte / pleasure / and pastyme" to her husband.[71] Vives was even more conservative than Hyrde, for in his *The Instruction of a Christian Women*, an immensely popular Tudor conduct book for women, he suggested that women learn

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[69] Woodbridge 13-14.

[70] As Woodbridge points out, three Tudor humanists -- the German Henry Cornelius Agrippa, the Italian Baldassare Castiglione and the English Sir Thomas Elyot -- had a particularly strong influence on the genre (16).

[71] Richard Hyrde, intro. *A deuout treatise vpon the Pater noster, made fyrst in latyn [Precatio Dominica] and tourned in to englisshe by a yong gentylwoman.* By Desiderius Erasmus. Ed. and trans. Margaret Roper. (London, 1526. STC 10477) A_3^r.

> for her selfe alone and her yonge children, or her systers in our lord. For it neyther be cometh a woman to rule a schole, nor to lyve amonge men, or speke abrode, and shake of her demureness and honesty, eyther all together or els a great parte: which if she be good, it were better to be at whome within and unknowen to other folkes. And in company to hold her tonge demurely. And let fewe se her, and none at al here her.[72]

Despairingly, "the rigid life [Vives] prescribes for women in his book was not the worst alternative for them then: it was one of the best available."[73] As Woodbridge points out, the work of Vives and many other humanists, "whatever their literary merits, accomplished little more for women's cause than to create a stereotype of the 'good' woman to counter the misogynist's stereotype of the 'bad'."[74] Thus, while the humanist defenders did not openly attack women as the detractors did, "defenders and detractors alike trafficked in stereotypes which are remote from, and even antithetical to, modern feminism."[75] In fact, the humanist defenders paradoxically may have encouraged the production of more misogynistic literature, for the existence of a defense of women was a virtual solicitation for further attacks.[76] Furthermore, humanism gave detractors more ammunition with which to fight their battle against women. Whereas the earlier misogynists relied mainly on the authority of the Bible for their *exempla* of bad women, they could now draw from classical sources as well.[77]

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[72] Juan Luis de Vives, *A very Frvtefvl and Pleasant boke callyd the Instrvction of a Christen woman, made fyrste in latyne, by the right famous clerk mayster Lewes Viues, and tourned oute of latyne into Englysshe by Richard Hyrde.* (London, 1529?. STC 24856) E_2^v.

[73] Valerie Wayne, "Some Sad Sentences: Vives and His Instruction of a Christian Woman." Silent But for the Word. Ed. Margaret Hannay. (Kent, Ohio: Kent State UP, 1985) 28.

[74] Woodbridge 38.

SPEGHT'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE *QUERELLE DES FEMMES*

By the early seventeenth century, the formal controversy had evolved into a serious form that enabled its authors to reveal their erudition, originality and virtuosity.[78] Ironically and unfortunately, one of the most popular detractions of women at this time, Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of lewde, idle, froward and unconstant women: Or*

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[75] Woodbridge 18.

[76] Misogyny was the almost inevitable backlash against the excessive elevation of "Woman" by the Neoplatonism and Petrarchanism of the late Middle Ages and High Renaissance.

[77] Obviously, women's defenders could also benefit from the humanists' excavation of classical texts. However, it remains true that humanism was a double-edged sword for women. Whereas on the one hand it opened up some opportunities for their education, it simultaneously stipulated the ways in which they were to use their learning. As Joan Kelly has suggested, humanism "spelled a further decline in the lady's influence over courtly society" and "placed her... under male cultural authority" (35).

[78] Woodbridge 17.

the Vanitie of them, choose you whether. With a commendacion of wise, vertuous and honest women. Pleasant for married Men, profitable for young Men, and hurtfull to none, [*The Arraignment of Women*, for short] published in 1615, shows little erudition, originality, or virtuosity.[79] Swetnam's collection of misogynistic commonplaces is largely plagiarised from earlier works of its kind, such as Lyly's *Euphues* and *The Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius*.[80] Its immense popularity could have come from the fact that it was dense with catchy proverbs and maxims, popular at the time, but it was more likely the result of the fact that it provoked three heated answers by women writers.

The first to reply to *The Arraignment of Women* was Rachel Speght. Her contribution to the debate genre and the formal controversy was called *A Mouzell for Melastomus, the cynical Baiter and foul mouthed Barker against Evahs Sex* (1617). In this erudite, well argued, devoutly Christian response, Speght metaphorically attempts to "muzzle" Melastomus [black mouth, slanderer; *i.e.*, Swetnam] first by writing a defense of women and second by picking Swetnam's work apart, piece by piece, to reveal its logical problems and grammatical errors. Since Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* had an obvious and significant impact on her *Mortalities Memorandum* and on the early seventeenth-century debate genre, the following summary of *A Mouzell* should prove helpful.

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[79] The work went through at least ten editions by 1637, six more by 1880, and was twice translated into Dutch. For analysis of Swetnam's work, see Coryl Crandal's *Swetnam the Woman-Hater Arraigned by Women* (1969), Henderson and McManus' *Half Humankind* (1984) and Linda Woodbridge's *Women and the English Renaissance* (1984).

[80] Woodbridge 81.

Speght prefaces *A Mouzell* with two dedicatory epistles. In the first one, addressed to "all vertuous ladies honourable or worshipfull and to all other of Hevah's sex, fearing god," she offers three reasons for writing her response: 1) she wants to prevent Swetnam from "foaming forth...an addition unto his former illiterate pamphlet";[81] 2) she fears that if Swetnam's work goes unanswered, then he "might have believed his diabolical infamies to be infallible truths not to be infringed";[82] and 3) to comfort the minds of all women. In an effort to fulfil her third task, she reminds women that they are loved and "highly esteemed" by God and suggests that they "not be enflamed with choler against this our enraged adversary, [Swetnam] but patiently consider of him according to the portraiture which he hath drawn of himself -- his writings being the very emblem of a monster."[83] In modern terms, Speght is saying, "Consider the source." In the latter part of this dedication, as in her dedication to Mary Moundford in *Mortalities Memorandum*, she makes use of the topos of affected modesty. She apologises for her "tenderness in years and insufficiency in learning."[84] In the second dedicatory epistle, Speght makes an acrostic poem from Swetnam's name and addresses him directly, saying "not unto the veriest Idiot that ever set pen to paper, but to the Cynical Baiter of Women, or Metamorphosed Misogunes, Joseph Swetnam."[85] She does not allow him to be the "veriest" idiot because she refuses to use excessive hyperbole, as Swetnam consistently does, but instead chooses to present a logical, even-tempered argument.

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[81] Speght, *Mouzell* 68.

[82] Speght, *Mouzell* 68.

[83] Speght, *Mouzell* 69.

Although she does not avoid invective altogether, for the most part, Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* is a patient and temperate refutation of Swetnam's "irreligious" and "illiterate" pamphlet. Her main defense, which advances biblical arguments against Swetnam, begins by recounting and then rebutting four common objections found in scripture against women. Speght then explains, using Aristotle's theory of causes,[86] the force by which women were created, the matter from which they were created, the essence of women, and the purpose for which they were created. Of the purposes for which women were created, she mentions two: 1) to glorify God, and 2) to be a companion for man. Expounding on the latter of these two, she says that while woman must be a "helper" for man, "those husbands... which lay the whole burden of domestical affairs and maintenance on the shoulders of their wives"[87] should not be tolerated. She goes on to argue that men should help with the housework and share other family burdens; she notes what happens in the animal kingdom:

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[84] Speght, *Mouzell* 69. Though it was a standard convention, the formula of submission and protestation of inability carried more significance when employed by a woman. See "Biography" 15-16.

[85] Speght, *Mouzell* 70.

[86] Aristotle, Metaphysica, trans. W. D. Ross (Oxford: Clarendon, 1928) A.3,7, vol. 8 of The Works of Aristotle.

> Nature has taught senseless creatures to help one another: as the male pigeon, when his hen is weary with sitting on her eggs and comes off from them, supplies her place, that in her absence they may receive no harm, until such time as she is fully refreshed. Of small birds, the cock always helps his hen to build her nest; and while she sits upon her eggs he flies abroad to get meat for her, who cannot then provide any for herself. The crowing cockerel helps his hen to defend her chickens from peril, and will endanger himself to save her and them from harm. Seeing then that these unreasonable creatures by the instinct of nature bear such affection each to other, that without any grudge they willingly according to their kind help one another, I may reason, *a minore ad maius*, [from the smaller to the greater] that much more should man and woman, which are reasonable creatures, be helpers each to other in all things lawful: they

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[87] Speght, *Mouzell* 70.

> having the law of God to guide them, his word to be a lantern unto their feet and a light unto their paths, by which they are excited to a far more mutual participation of each other's burden than other creatures.[88]

As can be gleaned from this passage, Speght has a remarkably egalitarian view of marriage. Her ideal of equality between the sexes is almost modern. Yet, at the same time, she later concedes that man is the head of woman and that females are the weaker sex.[89] Linda Woodbridge suggests that any advances Speght makes in advocating the equality of the sexes are hampered by her Christianity.[90] However, I feel that it is necessary to read between the lines when Speght makes these supposed concessions. What emerges, to me, is an astoundingly level-headed synthesis of Christian and feminist belief. As a Christian, Speght must adhere to biblical teaching and that teaching purports that just as Christ is the head of the Church (*Ephes.5.23*), so is man the head of woman (*1 Cor.11.3*). However, as a feminist, Speght demands that men in this position must not abuse their power, and she intelligently and necessarily draws upon scripture to support her demands. First, she implores men to consider their wives as the

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[88] Speght, *Mouzell* 70.

[89] Speght's concession on these points is not surprising when one considers the time in which she lived. If she had spoken out against these precepts, she would probably have been regarded as a blasphemous renegade.

[90] Woodbridge 92.

"dearest thing any man hath in this world"[91] and to love their wives as Christ loved his Church (*Ephes.5.25*). Second, she recommends that just as the head must work in cooperation with the rest of the body, (*1 Cor.12.12-27*), so must a husband work with his wife. Third, she cleverly urges husbands to allow their wives to be educated if for no other reason than to "'grow in grace and in the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord'" (*2 Pet.3.18*). Finally, she insists that just because men are womens' heads, it does not follow that they are womens' "lords and rulers"; men should not expect their wives to submit themselves to their husbands in any other way than women would submit themselves to the Lord (*Ephes.5.22*). The fact that Speght feels compelled to clarify at length what the saying "Man is the woman's head" means indicates that she is not willing to accept without reservation orthodox scriptural interpretation. Thus, while some critics may conclude that Speght is not a feminist, I would counter with the suggestion that she is a proto-feminist or perhaps even a Christian feminist.

Once she completes her defense of women, Speght addresses Swetnam directly with her *Certain Queries to the Baiter of Women. With confutation of some part of his diabolical discipline*. She apologizes for her unmethodical approach, but explains that it is the result of answering such a "botched"[92] piece of work as Swetnam's. She also explains that since his absurdities are so numerous she has selected only a few to condemn, for to point out all of his errors would be tedious and as "frivolous a work as to make a trap for a flea."[93] She begins by correcting a few of Swetnam's grammatical errors, but spends more time finding fault with his logic. For example, she quotes a passage from him and then picks apart the logic in it:

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[91] Speght, *Mouzell* 72.

[92] Speght, *Mouzell* 74.

> [Swetnam:] 'If thou marryest a still and a quiet woman, that will seem to thee that thou ridest but an ambling horse to hell; but if with one that is froward and unquiet; then thou wert as good ride a trotting horse to the devil.'
>
> [Speght:] If this your affirmation be true, then seems it that hell is the period [end, result] of all men's travels and the centre of their circumference. A man can but have either a good wife or a bad: and if he have the former, you say he doth but seem to amble to hell; if the latter, he were as good trot to the devil. But if married men ride, how travel bachelors? Surely, by your rule, they must go on foot, because they want [need] wives -- which (inclusively) you say are like horses to carry their husbands to hell. Wherefore, in my mind, it was not without mature

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[93] Speght, *Mouzell* 74.

> consideration that you married in time, because it would be too irksome for you to travel so tedious a journey on foot.[94]

This passage not only displays Speght's superior skill in argument, but also reveals her sense of humour. The biting satire evident here prevails through the rest of this piece and is even sustained to the final line of the concluding acrostic poem:

> Fret, fume, or frump at me who will, I care not;
> I will thrust forth thy sting to hurt and spare not.
> Now that the task I undertook is ended
> I dread not any harm to me intended,
> Sith justly none therein I have offended.[95]

Anyone familiar with the intensely misogynistic *Arraignment of Women* will readily detect in the last line of this poem Speght's derisive mimicry of Swetnam's opening lines in which he claims that his work is "pleasant," "profitable," and "hurtful to none."

LITERARY CONVENTIONS THAT INFLUENCED SPEGHT

Whereas Speght uses satire in just one way in *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, she demonstrates her skill with the genre by employing it in a few different ways in *Mortalities Memorandum*. For example, in this latter work, the satire in the amusing introductory poem to the reader resembles that which we just saw in *A Mouzell*. It is essentially light-hearted satire which ridicules a particular audience, in this case, a group of critical readers or "ignorant Dunces," as she calls them.[96] However, in the sober *Mortalities Memorandum*, Speght's satire is notably different. It is complexly woven into material dense with so many other literary conventions that it is easier to see the whole design or pattern than to distinguish the individual threads. These threads are of many hues, but when they are blended together, they create a dark-coloured tapestry. After all, the tapestry depicts a picture of death. Difficulty arises when we try to examine the raw materials or individual threads that go into making the tapestry, but if we are successful in doing this, we will discover that satire is woven into *de casibus* tragedy and that a little texture is supplied by the topoi of *contemptus mundi* and the vanity of human wishes.

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[94] Speght, *Mouzell* 78.

[95] Speght, *Mouzell* 80.

Speght's death tapestry was not atypical for the time. It was just one among a host of other works that demonstrated Renaissance writers' passion for enormous philosophical questions of the mind and soul. One of the most pervasive of these questions was "how can we defeat death?" In fact, Renaissance writers were virtually obsessed with death. There were nearly as many ways of broaching this subject as there were ways of dying. Some writers tried to answer the question by focusing on the passage of time. They realized that if one put one's stock in this world rather than the timeless next world, one could not help but feel oppressed by the passage of time. After all, time destroys the beauty of the world we have known.[97] These writers often decided that the only way we could conquer time and ultimately death was through procreation or through art. Thus, they produced a very self-reflexive literature. In their discussion of how humanity in general could conquer death, these writers were aware that their very act of writing helped to immortalize themselves. Shakespeare was one of many who realized that the written word would survive longer than buildings, monuments or urns. His Sonnet 55 epitomizes this viewpoint: "Not marble, nor the gilded monuments / Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme."[98]

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[96] See "Notes on Style" 34-5.

However, another group of writers condemned humanity's narcissistic and futile desires for immortality. These writers used the topos of the vanity of human wishes to satirize human folly. In fact, vanity provided a huge motivation for writing in this time. For instance, the vanity of women, which grew out of the misogynistic tradition, was a real cultural commodity in the Renaissance. Thus, when a woman writer, such as Speght, uses the rhetorical strategy of the vanity of human wishes, there are some interesting implications. In one way, she confronts the question of women's vanity straight on, but in another way she skirts the whole question. She does this by, in effect, making the vanity of women a non-issue through her sweeping condemnation of the vanity of all humans. Her approach to this topos is more satiric than anything else, for she is less concerned with the greatness of the men who have fallen from high estate than with the fact that these men foolishly believed they could defeat death. Speght shows that it is senseless for humans to try to avoid death by not thinking about it, because, in the end, death comes for everyone.

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[97] This notion was expressed particularly in the destruction of the beauty of one's mistress or loved one. The English sonneteers of the 1590's repeatedly voiced this complaint.

[98] See also Shakespeare's *Sonnets* 60, 71, 73, and 74.

Closely connected with the vanity of human wishes is the topos of *contemptus mundi*. Writers who took this approach to the "death question" condemned human vanity, for, in the whole scheme of things, all earthly ambitions and achievements are transitory. These writers emphasized the fact that rather than glorifying the self and the world in which we live, we should have contempt for all things mundane. After all, our bodies are the prison houses of our souls and this world is merely a filthy and despicable stopping place on our spiritual journey to eternal life in heaven. Many works of the time embody these notions, and Speght's *Mortalities Memorandum* is no exception.[99] Perhaps influenced by Pope Innocent III's *De*

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[99] See Sir Walter Ralegh's poem "The Lie," John Donne's "Holy Sonnet 1," and George Herbert's "Church Monuments." For a prose example, see Thomas Browne's *Urne Buriall*.

Miseria Condicionis Humanae, Speght goes into detail about the vileness of the body and the miseries that humans must endure in life on earth.[100]

Just preceding *Mortalities Memorandum* was a great period in English tragedy, a tragedy which was heavily influenced by the *de casibus* tradition of Boccaccio, Chaucer, Lydgate and Baldwin. Baldwin's work, *A Mirror for Magistrates*, had a particularly great impact on later Renaissance tragedy. As Ruoff indicates, it "became an important source of reference for over thirty history plays written before 1600, and its medieval preachments of *contemptus mundi*, *hubris*, and fate worked a pervasive influence on Elizabethan and Jacobean conceptions of tragedy."[101] Parallel to this whole tragic tradition and sometimes merging with it was a satirical tradition. Satire, too, often addressed questions about the vanity of human wishes. However, when tragedy alluded to the vanity of humans, it usually perceived the significance of a ruler's dying and conveyed a sense of loss over such a death, whereas satire focused on the foolish pride of an individual and almost seemed to treat the individual as insignificant in the whole scheme of things. It is this strain of satire that Speght uses in her *Mortalities Memorandum*, for she is less concerned with the downfall of heroic figures, such as Alexander the Great, Xerxes, Cicero, and Croesus, than with their vain attempts to escape death. The resulting emphasis in her work is intensely Christian, as she condemns this world and looks forward to the next. Her answer to the question of how we can defeat death is that we cannot and we should not even try.

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[100] See *Mortalities Memorandum* (16, 22).

[101] James Ruoff, *Elizabethan and Stuart Literature* (New York: Thomas Cromwell, 1975) 300.

Yet, while Speght condemns those who seek immortality, her own work is an immortalizing and perhaps vain effort. Was she aware, as so many of her contemporaries were, that she could immortalize herself through her writing? And if she was, did she write and publish partly because she was discouraged by her own lack of feminine heritage? Then again, maybe she thought, and understandably so, that since she was a woman there was not much likelihood of being immortalized through her writing since its chances of survival would be slim. She certainly seemed conscious that her feminine presence was obtrusive in the male world of letters. For example, the fact that in the introduction to *Mortalities Memorandum* she self-deprecatingly calls her work an "abortive" (*i.e.*, that which is untimely born), suggests that she was aware that her work might have been better received if it had been "born" or produced in some other time. Such a comment indicates that while Speght may have despaired over the many constraints put on women in her time, she also had hope for the future of women. Regardless of whether or not Speght was cognizant of the immortalizing nature of having her works published, it is fortunate for us, today, that she was not silenced, like so many of her sisters, by the daunting patriarchy and misogyny of her time. After all, it is the few surviving works by early women writers like Speght that enable us to re-write history to include women and to try to make some sense of that history.

SPEGHT'S PLACE IN FEMINIST LITERARY HISTORY

While situating Speght in general literary history is necessary, it is perhaps more crucial to locate her in feminist literary history. Women writers have been marginalized, forgotten, and assumed to not have existed for too long. My feminist agenda merges with that of the new historicists who believe that "what has been marginalized must be brought to the center; what has been forgotten or left out must be brought to consciousness; what has been assumed must be exposed to the corrosive operation of critique."[102] Unfortunately, this task is not always easy. Inevitably, there are critics who believe that the reason women have been left out of literary history for so long is that their work is unworthy of attention. Sometimes even critics who seem to be trying to contribute to the rewriting of history do more damage than good. For example, if too many readers accepted Angeline Goreau's word in her *The Whole Duty of a Woman: Female Writers in Seventeenth-Century England* (1984), they would probably never pay any attention to Rachel Speght.

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[102] Stanley Fish, "Commentary: The Young and the Restless," The New Historicism. ed. H. Aram Veeser. (New York: Routledge, 1989) 309.

Commenting on Speght's first work, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, which she calls a "rather indigestible text," Goreau inaccurately and unfairly says that "despite the spirited nature of her title, Rachel Speght's defense of women was an unfortunately inept jumble of quoted Scripture, practically unintelligible for a modern reader."[103] Goreau goes on to find fault with Speght's learning: she "was the daughter of a minister and not yet twenty: clearly her education was inadequate to the task she had set herself."[104] I suppose one could assert that Goreau is simply taking part in the "corrosive operation of critique," and that the fact that Speght receives some attention is better than receiving none at all. Perhaps what Goreau is doing here is not unlike what Joseph Swetnam did in the early seventeenth century -- attacking Speght in order to elicit a response or encourage a dialogue. On the other hand, one could argue that when even supposed supporters of women engage in such unjust and fallacious disparagement, the difficulty of the struggle to reclaim women's past becomes even more trying.

Another problem that one encounters when trying to place early women writers in history is that there seems to be some prestige attached to discovering the very "first feminist." In my research I have come across so many "first feminists" that the term has been rendered nearly meaningless. Figures from such disparate eras as Christine de Pisan (1364-1430), Margaret Tyler (1578), Mary Astell (1666-1731), and Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) have been at some point or other labelled as such. The term "first" is not useful because, since we are still in the process of text recovery, we may come up with texts that pre-date existing ones. Then when the word "first" is combined with an already complicated term like "feminist," there is the suggestion that no writer before the "first feminist" could have engaged in discussions about the nature of women. Therefore, while I refuse to call Rachel Speght the "first feminist," I recognize that she made some original contributions to the ongoing debate about womankind and that she had an immediate impact on her female contemporaries and an enduring, though less direct, influence on successive generations of women writers.

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[103] Angeline Goreau, *The Whole Duty of a Woman: Female Writers in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York: Dial, 1984) 68.

[104] Goreau 68.

The impact that Speght had on her contemporaries is readily apparent. Although three women responded to Joseph Swetnam's *Arraignment of Women*, Speght's *A Mouzell* was the first response and may be regarded as the spark that ignited the controversial fire, since it was only after Ester Sowernam and Constantia Munda had read Speght's work that they decided to forge ahead with their own. The controversy culminated in an anonymous play, possibly penned by a woman, called *Swetnam* *the Woman-hater* (1620).[105] This Jacobean tragicomedy draws from all the works in the Swetnam controversy, works which, one could argue, might not have come into existence without Speght's first and fiery precedent-setting attack. The idea of precedence is important, especially when we consider Speght's influence on her female successors. While she may not have had a direct impact on such writers as Margaret Askew Fell Fox (1614-1702), Katherine Philips (1631-1664), or Aphra Behn (c1640-1689), she helped, as did each woman who set pen to paper, to give her successors a legacy or history upon which to draw when they decided to write. A further way in which Speght set a precedent was by refusing to be silenced by the overpowering voice of male authority. Despite and partly because of the fact that the critics of her *Mouzell* came down so harshly on her and suggested that the work had been written by her father, she wrote her second work *Mortalities Memorandum*. She wrote this work in order to claim what was rightfully hers -- recognition as a capable and erudite writer. Thus, whether she realized it or not, by expressing and defending the position of the marginalized, Speght entered into the hitherto privileged male space of the written word, a word which was "a signifier of status and power" and which was capable of bestowing equality onto men and women.[106]

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[105] Since this play was actually staged, it is unlikely that it was written by a woman. In this period, women seem to have written only closet drama, and only one of these survives.

Luckily for Speght, she was able to enter into the masculine domain of writing without suffering very severe consequences. The same cannot be said of her female predecessors. We have depressingly sparse knowledge about pre-Jacobean female writers in England. There may have been more of a feminist consciousness brewing on the continent prior to Speght's time, but little was happening in her native land.[107] This was mainly due to the fact that the Renaissance happened on the continent before it came to England. As a result, the few women we are currently aware of, including Margaret More Roper, Anne Askew, the Cooke sisters, Queen Elizabeth I, and Mary Sidney, lived in a society perhaps more inimical to creative endeavours by women than Speght's. Therefore, most of these women did not produce original works.[108] Their main outlet was religious translation, because that was considered relatively safe ground by the male power holders. Yet, although translation was supposedly innocuous territory, these women often managed subversively to insert their own voices or personality into the translations. As Katharina Wilson notes:

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[106] Katharina M. Wilson, *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Athens: U of Georgia P, 1987) xxxii.

[107] For more on continental writers, see Wilson (610-621). At the end of her book, Wilson provides a useful timeline in which she places several English and continental women writers (including Italy's Vittoria Gambara, France's Marguerite of Navarre, Germany's Caritas Pirckheimer, and Hungary's Leas Raskai) in a literary and historical context, from 1400 to 1650. There was much more writing by European women prior to 1500 than by their English counterparts. Joan Kelly credits France's Christine de Pisan (1364-1430?), the first Western woman to make a living from writing, as the initiator of a "four-century-long debate on women... known as the *querelle des femmes*" (66).

[108] Anne Askew (1520-1546), a Protestant martyr burned at the stake, wrote a ballad; Mary Wroth wrote an original romance, *Urania*, and a sonnet sequence, *Pamphilia to Amphilanthus* (1621), but was castigated for doing so and

> Renaissance women translators, while discouraged from composing original texts, did often authenticate their works -- if perhaps only marginally -- by adding or shifting emphasis, coining new terms, extending metaphors, omitting phrases, and successfully adapting the source language into their native idiom. They played seminally important roles in creating the literary vernaculars.[109]

An example of such a translator is Margaret Tyler, "a Roman Catholic member--possibly a servant--in the aristocratic Howard household."[110] Tyler used the dedication pages in her translation of a Spanish Roman Catholic, Diego Ortunez de Calahorra, to object to the fact that, although women were just as intelligent as men, they were not permitted to write creative works. Although many modern feminists complain that early women were hampered by their Christianity, it actually was their Christianity that provided them with the first

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effectively silenced by Lord Denny.

[109] Wilson xxx.

[110] Moira Ferguson, *First Feminists: British Women Writers 1578-1799* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1985) 9.

outlet for expression. In fact, one could argue that the works produced by sixteenth-century women translators were crucial in establishing a more tolerant literary climate by the time Speght emerged in the early seventeenth century.

In her watershed article, "Did Women Have a Renaissance?" Joan Kelly questions traditional assumptions about the experience of women. She maintains that because women often had a very different historical experience from men, it is inappropriate to use blanket summaries to describe all participants in history. Because she saw humanism as a force which actually brought about the deterioration of women's status, power, and freedom, she answers the question in her title with a resounding "no." However, since Kelly posited this question, numerous feminist scholars have attempted to answer it. While most reject the old Burckhardtian assertions that Renaissance "women stood on a footing of perfect equality with men"[111], they are also hesitant to accept Kelly's answer without qualification. I agree with Kelly that women did not have a Renaissance, at least in the Renaissance, but I do think that they are experiencing one now. By retrieving and engaging in a discussion of texts by Renaissance women authors, their twentieth-century sisters are, in a sense, giving back what should have belonged to them in the first place: recognition as vital and worthwhile contributors to literature and society. We now can, as Constance Jordan has recently suggested, realistically expect to:

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[111] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy: An Essay*, (London: Phaidon, 1945) 240.

> accomplish the task so many early feminists urged on their readers: the creation of a history of women, the excavation of records, the decipherment of the palimpsest of the history of men (for so long history *tout court*).[112]

However, as we take part in this process, we might do well to realize that while we bestow this gift of recognition upon our foremothers, we simultaneously pay our debt to them. After all, without early women writers, like Speght, who pioneered into unfamiliar and often intimidating territory, women would not have attained the level of participation in society that they enjoy today.

CONCLUSION

At the conclusion of this project, I am aware that as I am student of English literature, my work on Speght might be construed as being more feminist than literary. I ask myself, now, questions that I have posed at different times throughout this enterprise. Have I been motivated by my feminist conviction that considers it imperative to investigate early women writers, regardless of their literary skill, in order to generate more accurate accounts of history? Or have I been guided by my taste in literature, which finds Speght's and many other female writers' work too good to pass over? I do not ask these questions because I feel I must be overly defensive of my project -- I know that my feminism and literary judgement have probably influenced me equally -- but because I realize that such questions are currently asked of feminists in many fields and levels of endeavour.[113] Yet, when I consider that my literary taste has been cultivated mainly from male-authored works, I find myself in a dilemma. I know that Speght's work is good and is better than some of her contemporaries, but it is not up to me to decide how and where she will fit into the literary canon. Thus, in the end, I think I have achieved my feminist agenda by making *Mortalities Memorandum* more accessible, but I leave it to the readers of this text to engage in the rigorous process of debate in order to assess Rachel Speght's literary merit.

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[112] Constance Jordan, *Renaissance Feminism: Literary Texts and Political Models* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1990) 1.

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[113] Feminists on university campuses are frequently targets of this sort of questioning. Women's Studies departments regularly counter attacks suggesting that studying women and women's issues is not academically rigorous or necessary. A university hiring committee is often asked to justify whether it hired women candidates because of their excellence or simply because they were women. Similarly, literary feminists are constantly asked if their desire to include little-known women writers in the canon is due more to the gender than the skill of these writers.

COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE TEXT

i)First Printing

On 18 January, 1621, Jacob Bloome, a London bookseller (from Knight Rider Street) entered his copy of Rachel Speght's *Mortalities Memorandum* in the Register of the Company of Stationers of London. Edward Griffin Senior, printer in London (1613-1621) from Little Old Bayley near the sign of the King's Head, printed *Mortalities Memorandum* for Jacob Bloome and copies of the work were sold at Bloome's shop in Paul's Churchyard at the sign of the Greyhound.

ii)Current Location of Extant Copies

From this first and only printing, there are seven extant copies. The British Library holds two copies; Folger, Huntington, Houghton (Harvard), Newberry, and Beinecke (Yale) Libraries each hold one copy. Merton College Library at Oxford holds fragments (parts of quires A and B) that were used in the binding of Daniel Chamerius' *Panstratiae Catholicae corpus* (Geneva 1626).

iii)Sales

In 1864 Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* indicated that *Mortalities Memorandum*, was sold at one auction sale [Nassau, pt. ii no.1138] for £ 5.15.6 and at another sale [Heber pt. iv] for £ 1.2.

iv)Reprintings

After a long absence, excerpts of *Mortalities Memorandum* reappeared in Betty S. Travitsky's book *the Paradise of Women: Writing by Englishwomen of the Renaissance* (1981). Travitsky reprinted, without annotations, most of the *Dedicatory Epistle*, twenty-seven stanzas from *The Dreame*, and fourteen stanzas from *Mortalities Memorandum*. Then, in 1988, Germaine Greer *et al* published *Kissing the Rod: An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Women's Verse*, which included thirty-seven of the fifty stanzas from *The Dreame*. There is also a short introduction to Speght's life in *Kissing the Rod*, as well as thorough, though not extensive, annotations of the excerpt of *The Dreame* reprinted. To date, *Mortalities Memorandum* has not been republished *in toto* since 1621.

v)Reputation

While the work has not been printed since 1621, it has not gone completely unnoticed. It has received a glimmer of attention in recent times in such books as Travitsky's and Greer's mentioned above and in Shepherd's *The Women's Sharp Revenge* (1985), Beilin's *Redeeming Eve* (1987), and Nyquist and Ferguson's *Re-membering Milton* (1988). Mere mention of the text was made in Springer's *What Manner of Woman* (1977), Hull's *Chaste, Silent and Obedient* (1982), Emerson's *Wives and Daughters* (1984), Todd's *Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide* (1989), and Blain, Clements, and Grundy's *The Feminist Companion to English Literature* (1990).

Undoubtedly, the chief stumbling block for the would-be critics of *Mortalities Memorandum* over the last three and a half centuries has been the text's utter inaccessibility. Since the text has not had the chance to acquire a reputation, it is difficult to predict how it would be received today. The fact that uncut quires of the work were used in the binding of another book in 1626 suggests that the printer was unable to sell all the copies that had been printed and resorted to recycling the extra paper by using it for binding in other books.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

In order to determine what should or should not have been annotated, I retained the services of three "dumb" readers. The first reader is an academic who is familiar with Renaissance literature, but whose area of specialization is nineteenth-century Canadian literature. The second and third readers are not academics, but the second is well read in history and literature and the third is a good reader and comprehends well. Each of the readers was given a copy of *Mortalities Memorandum* and was asked to note any words, turns of phrase, or passages that caused them confusion. They were encouraged to write down more rather than less. I, the editor, also went through this process. My thesis committee members provided suggestions as well. While this text will be studied mainly by academics, part of my agenda has been to make Speght's work accessible to any reader. Therefore, it is hoped that a non-academic will be able to read *Mortalities Memorandum* and, with the assistance of the annotations, have a fairly good understanding of Speght's text.

The text presented preserves Speght's original spelling and punctuation. The use of "i" for "j", "u" for "v", "v" for "u", and "vv" for "w" has been retained, but the long "ſ" has been replaced by "s". Asterisks (*) in the text indicate that the preceding word or phrase has been annotated. Annotations appear after the complete text. Words which appear in standard modern dictionaries have not been glossed, but words which are used today, but whose meanings have changed, have been glossed.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

Title: MORTALITIES ¦ MEMORANDVM, ¦ *WITH* ¦ A DREAME PRE- ¦ fixed, imaginarie in manner; ¦ *reall in matter.* ¦ [rule]¦ By RACHEL SPEGHT.¦ [rule] ¦ *Liue to die, for die thou must,* ¦ *Die to liue, amongst the iust.* ¦ [rule] ¦ rectangle of flower type-orn. (12.5 X 45) ¦ [rule] ¦ *LONDON* ¦ Printed by EDVVARD GRIFFIN for ¦ IACOB BLOOME, and are to be sould at his Shop in ¦ *Pauls* Church-yard at the signe of the Gray- ¦ hound. 1621.

Collation: quarto: A-F^4 [-F$_4$]; 23 leaves; \$2 signed (-A$_1$), pp. [*6*] [1] 2-11 [12] 13-38 [39], (36 misnumbered as 37; 37 misnumbered as 36).

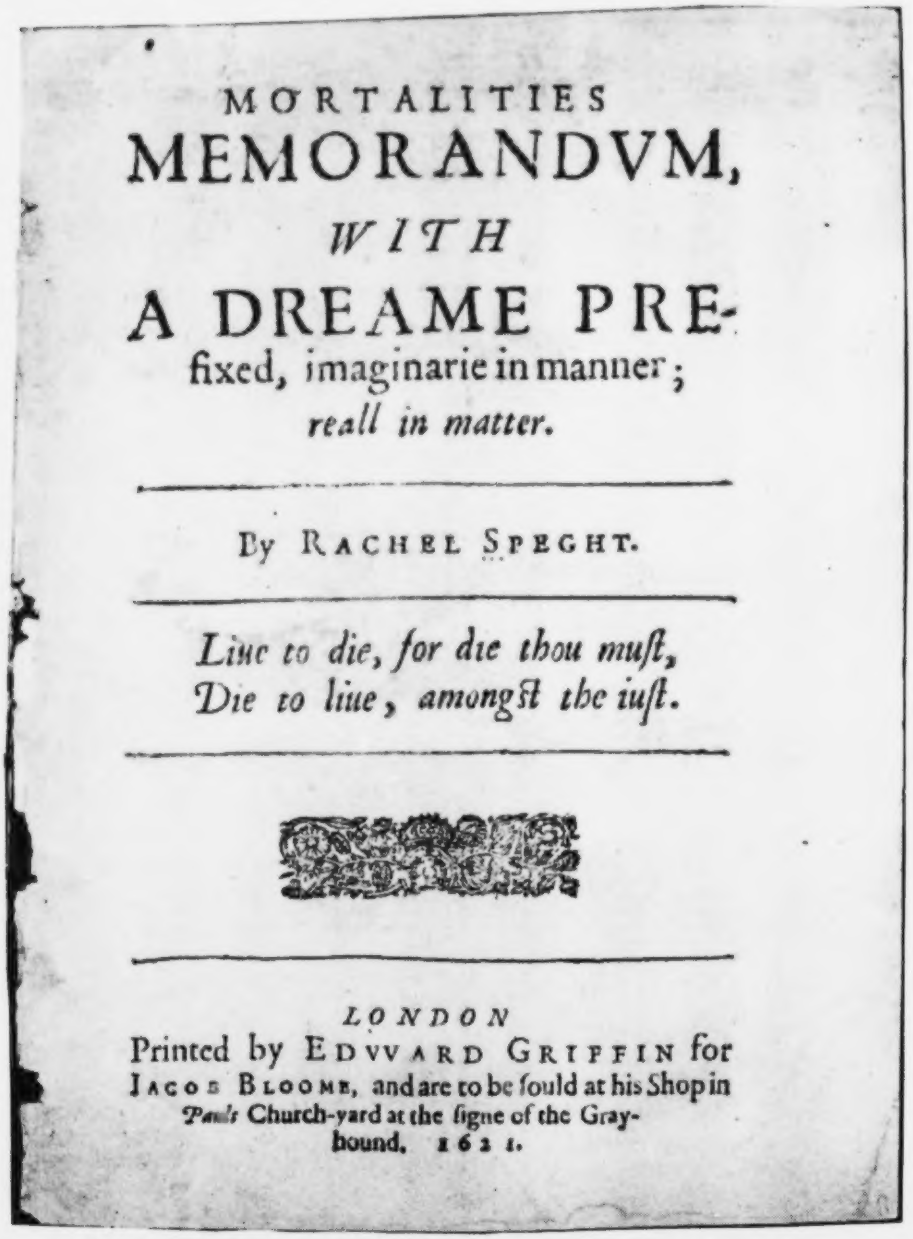
Contents: [A$_1$]^r: title page; [A$_1$]^v: blank; A$_2^r$-A$_3^r$: dedicatory epistle 'To ¦ THE VVORSHIP- ¦ FVLL AND VERTVOVS ¦ *Gentlewoman, her most respected God-* ¦ Mother M^{rs} *Marie Moundford*, wife ¦ *vnto the worshipfull Doctour* ¦ *Moundford* Physitian.', signed *'Your God-daughter in dutie* ¦ *obliged* ¦ RACHEL SPEGHT.'; A$_3^v$: 'To the Reader.'; A$_4^r$-C$_1^r$ *'The Dreame.'*; C$_1^v$: blank; C$_2^r$-F$_2^v$: *'Mortalities Memorandum.'*; F$_3^r$: 'Faults escaped in Printing.'

Head Title: A$_4^r$ [spaced double rule] ¦ [orn.] ¦ [leaf turning upwards] *The Dreame.* C$_2^r$ [spaced double rule] ¦ [orn.] ¦ *Mortalities Memorandum.*

Running Titles: A_2^v-A_3^r: *'The Epistle Dedicatory.'*; A_4^v-C_1^r: *'The Dreame.'* with page numbers; C_2^r: '13'; C_2^v-F_2^v: *'Mortalities Memorandum.'* with page numbers (36 misnumbered as 37, 37 misnumbered as 36).

Catchwords: A_4^r And B_4^r The C_4^r And D_4^r But E_4^r Thirdly

Copies Examined: British Library (two copies); Merton College Library, Oxford (fragments); Henry E. Huntington Library; Harvard University (Houghton Library); Newberry Library.



MORTALITIES
MEMORANDVM,
WITH
A DREAME PRE-
fixed, imaginarie in manner;
reall in matter.

By RACHEL SPEGHT.

Liue to die, for die thou muſt,
Die to liue, amongſt the iuſt.

LONDON
Printed by EDVVARD GRIFFIN for
IACOB BLOOME, and are to be ſould at his Shop in
Pauls Church-yard at the ſigne of the Gray-
hound. 1621.

Title page of Rachel Speght's *Mortalities Memorandvm, With A Dreame Pre-fixed, imaginarie in manner; reall in matter* (1621). Courtesy of the Newberry Library, Chicago.

MORTALITIES

MEMORANDVM,[*]

WITH

A DREAME PRE-

fixed, imaginarie in manner;
reall in matter.[*]

BY RACHEL SPEGHT.

Liue to die, for die thou must,
Die to liue, amongst the iust.[*]

LONDON
Printed by EDVVARD GRIFFIN for
IACOB BLOOME, and are to be sould at his Shop in
***Pauls* Church-yard at the signe of the Gray-**
hound. 1621.

TO
THE WORSHIPFVLL AND VERTUOVS
Gentlewoman, her most respected God-
Mother M^rs^ *Marie Moundford,*• wife
vnto the worshipfull Doctour
Moundford Physitian.

AMongst diuersitie of motiues to inducethe divulging of that to publique view, which was devoted to priuate Contemplation, none is worthy to precede desire of common benefit.• Corne kept close in a garner feeds not the hungry;• A candle put vnder a bushell doth not illuminate an house;• None but vnprofitable seruants knit vp Gods talent in a Napkin.• These premises haue caused the Printing presse to expresse the subsequent *Memorandum of Mortalitie*, by which if obliuious• persons shall bee incited to premeditation off,• and preparation against their last houre, when inevitable *Death* seazing on them, shall cease their beeing vpon

Mat.5.15.

Mat.25.30.

Gen. 45.28. earth, I shall with *Iacob* say, *I haue enough:*· I leuell at no other marke, nor ayme at other end, but to haue all sorts to marke and prouide for their latter end.· I know these populous times affoord plentie of forward Writers, and criticall Readers; My selfe hath made the number of the one too many by one; and hauing bin toucht with the censures of the other, by occasion of my *mouzeling Melastomus*,· I am now, as by a strong motiue induced (for my rights sake) to produce and divulge this of spring· of my indeuour, to proue them further futurely who haue formerly depriued me of my due, imposing my abortiue· vpon the father of me,· but not of it. Their varietie of verdicts haue verified the adagie· *quot homines, tot sententiae*,· and made my experience confirme that apothegme· which doth affirme Censure to be inevitable to a publique act.

Vnto your worthy selfe doe I dedicate the sequel· as a testimonie of my true thankefulnesse for your fruitfull loue, euer since my beeing, manifested toward me, your actions hauing beene the Character of your affection; and that hereby the world may witnesse, that the pro-

mise

mise˙ you made for me, when I could make none for myselfe, my carefull friends (amongst whom I must repute˙ your euer esteemed selfe) haue beene circumspect to see performed. I would not haue any one falsly to thinke that this *Memorandum* is presented to your person to implie in you defect of those duties which it requires; but sincerely to denote you as a paradigma˙ to others; for what it shews to be done, shewes but what you haue done; yet ere I leaue, giue me leaue to put you in minde of *Paules* precept, *be not wearie of well-doing, for in due time you shall reape if you faint not.*˙ Thus presenting vnto God my supplication, and vnto you my operation˙, the former to him for you safetie, the latter to you for your seruice, I euer remaine

Gal.6.9.

Your God-daughter in dutie
obliged

RACHEL SPEGHT.

To the Reader.

¶

R *Eaders too common, and plentifull be;*
For Readers they are that can read a, b, c.
And vtter their verdict on what they doe view,
Though none of the Muses[°] *they yet euer knew.*
But helpe of such Readers at no time I craue,
Their silence, than censure, I rather would have:
For ignorant Dunces doe soonest depraue.[°]

But, courteous Reader, who euer thou art,
Which these my endeauours do'st take in good part,
Correcting with iudgement the faults thou do'st finde,
With fauour approuing what pleaseth thy minde.
To thee for thy vse, and behoofe,[°] *I extend*
This poore Memorandum *of our latter end.*
Thus wishing thee wellfare, I rest a true friend.

To those which (Art affect,
And learnings fruit) respect.

RACHEL SPEGHT.

The Dreame.

WHen splendent *Sol*•, which riseth in the East,
Returning thence tooke harbour in the West;
When *Phoebus*• layd her head in *Titans*• lap,
And Creatures• sensitiue• made hast to rest;
When skie which earst• look't like to azure blew,
Left colour bright, and put on sable hew.

Then did *Morpheus*• close my drowsie eyes,
And stood as Porter at my sences dore,
Divrnall• cares excluding from my minde;
Including rest, (the salue for labours sore.)
Nights greatest part in quiet sleepe I spent,
But nothing in this world is permanent.

For ere *Aurora*• spread her glittering beames,
Or did with roabes of light her self invest,
My mentall quiet sleepe did interdict
By entertaining a nocturnall guest.
A *Dreame* which did my minde and sense possesse,
With more then I by Penne can well expresse.

At the appoyntment of supernall• power,
By instrumentall meanes me thought I came
Into a place most pleasant to the eye,
Which for the beautie some did *Cosmus*• name,
Where stranger-like on euerything I gaz'd,
But wanting• wisedome was as one amaz'd.

Vpon

Vpon a sodeyne,• as I gazing stood,
Thought• came to me, and ask't me of my state,
Inquiring what I was, and what I would,•
And why I seem'd as one disconsolate:
To whose demand, I thus again replide,
I, as a stranger in this place abide.

The Hauen• of my voyage is remote,
I haue not yet attain'd my iourneyes end;
Yet know I not, nor can I giue a guesse,
How short a time I in this place shall spend.
For that high power, which sent me to this place,
Doth onely• know the period• of my race.•

The reason of my sadnesse at this time,
Is, 'cause I feele my selfe not very well,
Vnto you I shall much obliged bee,
If for my grief a remedie you'le tell.
Quoth• shee, if you your maladie will show,
My best aduise I'le willingly bestow.

My griefe, quoth I, is called *Ignorance*,•
Which makes me differ little from a brute:
For animals are led by natures lore,•
Their seeming science• is but customes fruit;•
When they are hurt they haue a sense of paine;
But want• the sense to cure themselues againe.

And euer since this griefe• did me oppresse,
Instinct of nature is my chiefest guide;
I feele disease, yet know not what I ayle,
I finde a sore, but can no salue prouide;
I hungry am, yet cannot seeke for foode;
Because I know not what is bad or good.

And

And sometimes when I seeke the golden mean,•
My weaknesse• makes me faile of mine intent,
That suddenly I fall into extremes,•
Nor can I see a mischiefe• to preuent;
But feele the paine when I the perill finde,
Because my maladie doth make me blinde.•

What is without the compasse of my braine,•
My sicknesse makes me say it cannot bee;
What I conceiue not, cannot come to passe;
Because for it I can no reason see.
I measure all mens feet by mine owne shooe,•
And count all well, which I appoint• or doe.

The pestilent effects of my disease
Exceed report, their number is so great;
The euils, which through it I doe incur,
Are more then I am able to repeat.
Wherefore, good *Thought*, I sue• to thee againe,
To tell me how my cure I may obtaine.

Quoth she, I wish I could prescribe your helpe;
Your state I pitie much, and doe bewaile;
But for my part, though I am much imploy'd,•
Yet in my iudgement I doe often faile.
And therefore I'le commend vnto your triall•
Experience, of whom take no deniall.

For she can best direct you, what is meet•
To worke your cure, and satisfie your minde;
I thank't her for her loue, and tooke my leaue,
Demanding where I might *Experience* finde.
She told me if I did abroad enquire,
'Twas likely *Age* could answer my desire.

B I sought,

I sought, I found, She ask't me what I would;[•]
Quoth I, your best direction I implore:
For I am troubled with an irkesome grief,[•]
Which when I nam'd, quoth she declare no more:
For I can tell as much, as you can say,
And for your cure I'le helpe you what I may.

The onely medicine for your maladie,
By which, and nothing else your helpe is wrought,[•]
Is *Knowledge*,[•] of the which there is two sorts,
The one is good, the other bad and nought;[•]
The former sort by labour is attain'd,
The latter may without much toyle be gain'd.

But 'tis the good, which must effect your cure,
I pray'd her then, that she would further show,
Where I might haue it, that I will, quoth shee,
In *Eruditions* garden it doth grow:
And in compassion of your woefull case,
Industrie shall conduct you to the place.

Disswasion hearing her assigne my helpe,
(And seeing that consent I did detect)
Did many remoraes[•] to me propose,
As dulnesse, and my memories defect;
The difficultie of attaining lore,[•]
My time, and sex, with many others more.

Which when I heard, my minde was much perplext,
And as a horse new come into the field,
Who with a Harquebuz[•] at first doth start,
So did this shot make me recoyle and yeeld.
But of my feare when some did notice take,
In my behalfe, they this reply did make.

First

First quoth *Desire*, *Disswasion*, hold thy peace,
These oppositions come not from aboue:•
Quoth *Truth*, they cannot spring from reasons roote,
And therefore now thou shalt no victor proue.
No, quoth *Industrie*, be assured this,
Her friends shall make thee of thy purpose misse.•

For with my sickle I will cut away
All obstacles, that in her way can grow,
And by the issue• of her owne attempt,
I'le make thee *labor omnia vincet*• know.
Quoth *Truth*, and sith• her sex thou do'st obiect,
Thy folly I by reason will detect.

Both man and woman of three parts consist,
Which *Paul* doth bodie, soule, and spirit call:• *1.Thess.5.23.*
And from the soule three faculties arise,
The minde, the will, the power; then wherefore shall
A woman haue her intellect in vaine,
Or not endeauor *Knowledge* to attaine.

The talent, God doth giue, must be imploy'd, *Luke 19.23.*
His owne with vantage he must haue againe:•
All parts and faculties were made for vse; *1.Sam.2.3.*
The God of *Knowledge*• nothing gaue in vaine.
'Twas *Maries* choyce our Sauiour did approue, *Luke 10.42.*
Because that she the better part did loue.•

Cleobulina,• and *Demophila*,•
With *Telesilla*,• as Historians tell,
(Whose fame doth liue, though they haue long bin dead)
Did all of them in Poetrie excell.
A Roman matron that *Cornelia*• hight,•
An eloquent and learned style did write.

B_2 *Hyptia*

Hypatia[*] in Astronomie had skill,
Aspatia[*] was in Rheth'ricke so expert,
As that Duke *Pericles*[*] of her did learne;
Areta[*] did deuote her selfe to art:
And by consent (which shewes she was no foole)
She did succeed her father in his schoole.

And many others here I could produce,
Who were in Science counted excellent;
But these examples which I haue rehearst,
To shew thy error are sufficient.
Thus hauing sayd, she turn'd her speech to mee,
That in my purpose I might constant bee.

My friend, quoth she, regard not vulgar talke;
For dung-hill Cocks[*] at precious stones will spurne,
And swine-like natures prize not cristall streames,
Contemned[*] mire, and mud will serue their turne.
Good purpose seldome oppositions want:
But constant mindes *Disswasion* cannot daunt.

Shall euery blast disturbe the Saylors peace?
Or boughes and bushes Trauellers affright?
True valour doth not start at euery noyse;
Small combates must instruct for greater fight.
Disdaine to bee with euery dart dismayd;
'Tis childish to be suddenly affrayd.

If thou didst know the pleasure of the place,
Where *Knowledge* growes, and where thou mayst it (gaine;
Or rather knew the vertue of the plant,[*]
Thou would'st not grudge at any cost, or paine,
Thou canst bestow, to purchase for thy cure
This plant, by which of helpe thou shalt be sure.
Let

Let not *Disswasion* alter thy intent;
'Tis sinne to nippe good motions in the head;
Take courage, and be constant in thy course,
Though irkesome be the path, which thou must tread.
Sicke folkes drinke bitter medicines to be well,
And to inioy the nut men cracke the shell.

When *Truth* had ended what shee meant to say,
Desire did moue me to obey her will,
Whereto consenting I did soone proceede,
Her counsell, and my purpose to fulfill;
And by the helpe of *Industrie* my friend,
I quickly did attaine my iourneyes end.

Where being come, *Instructions* pleasant ayre
Refresht my senses, which were almost dead,
And fragrant flowers of sage• and fruitfull plants,
Did send sweete sauours vp into my head;
And taste of science• appetite did moue,
To augment *Theorie* of things aboue.•

There did the harmonie of those sweete birds,
(Which higher soare with Contemplations wings,
Then barely with a superficiall view,
Denote the value of created things.)
Yeeld such delight as made me to implore,
That I might reape this pleasure more and more.

And as I walked wandring with *Desire*,
To gather that, for which I thither• came;
(Which by the helpe of *Industrie* I found)
I met my old acquaintance, *Truth* by name;
Whom I requested briefely to declare,
The vertue of that plant• I found so rare.

Quoth

Col.3.10. Quoth shee, by it Gods image man doth beare,•
Without it he is but a humane shape,
Worse then the Deuill; for he knoweth much;
Without it who can any ill escape?
By vertue of it euils are withstood;
Prov.19.2. *The minde without it is not counted good.*•

Who wanteth *Knowledge* is a Scripture foole,
Against the *Ignorant* the Prophets pray;•
And *Hosea* threatens iudgement vnto those,
Whom want of *Knowledge* made to runne astray.•
Without it thou no practique• good canst show,
More then by hap, as blinde men hit a Crow.

True *Knowledge* is the Window of the soule,
Through which her obiects she doth speculate;•
It is the mother of faith, hope, and loue;
Without it who can vertue estimate?
By it, in grace thou shalt desire to grow;
John 17.3. 'Tis life eternall God and Christ to *Know.*•

Great *Alexander*• made so great account,
Of *Knowledge*, that he oftentimes would say,
That he to *Aristotle* was more bound
For *Knowledge*, vpon which *Death* could not pray,
Then to his Father *Phillip* for his life,
Which was vncertaine, irkesome, full of strife.

This true report put edge vnto *Desire*,
Who did incite me to increase my store,
And told me 'twas a lawfull auarice,
To couet *Knowledge* daily more and more.
This counsell I did willingly obey,
Till some occurence called me away.

And

And made me rest content with that I had,
Which was but little, as effect doth show;
And quenched hope for gaining any more,
For I my time must other-wayes bestow.
I therefore to that place return'd againe,
From whence I came, and where I must remaine.•

But by the way I saw a full fed Beast,•
Which roared like some monster, or a Deuill,
And on *Eues* sex he foamed filthie froth,
As if that he had had the falling euill;•
To whom I went to free them from mishaps,
And with a *Mouzel*• sought to binde his chaps.•

But, as it seemes, my moode out-run my might,
Which when a selfe-conceited Creature• saw,
Shee past her censure on my weake exployt,
And gaue the beast a harder bone to gnaw;
Haman shee hangs, 'tis past he cannot shun it;
For *Ester* in the Pretertense• hath done it.

And yet her enterprize had some defect,
The monster surely was not hanged quite:
For as the childe of *Prudence*• did conceiue,
His throat not stop't he still had power to bite.
She therefore gaue to *Cerberus*• a soppe,•
Which is of force his beastly breath to stoppe.

But yet if he doe swallow downe that bit,
She other-wayes hath bound him to the peace;
And like an Artist takes away the cause,
That the effect by consequence may cease.
This franticke dogge, whose rage did women wrong,
Hath Constance worm'd to make him holde his tongue.

Thus

Thus leauing them I passed on my way,
But ere that I had little further gone,
I saw a fierce insatiable foe,
Depopulating Countries, sparing none;
Without respect of age, sex, or degree,
It did deuoure, and could not daunted be.

Some fear'd this foe, some lou'd it as a friend;
For though none could the force of it withstand,
Yet some by it were sent to *Tophets* flames,•
But others led to heauenly *Canaan*• land.
On some it seazd with a gentle power,
And others furiously it did deuoure.

The name of the impartiall foe was Death,
Whose rigour whil'st I furiously did view,
Vpon a sodeyne, ere I was aware;
With perceiuing• dart my mother• deare it slew;
Which when I saw it made me so to weepe,
That teares and sobs did rouze me from my sleepe.

But, when I wak't, I found my dreame was true;
For Death had ta'ne my mothers breath away,
Though of her life it could not her bereaue,
Sith shee in glorie liues with Christ for aye;•
Which makes me glad, and thankefull for her blisse,
Though still bewayle her absence, whom I misse.

A sodeine sorrow peirceth to the quicke,
Speedie encounters fortitude doth try;
Vnarmed men receiue the deepest wound,
Expected perils time doth lenifie;•
Her sodeine losse hath cut my feeble heart,
So deepe, that daily I indure the smart.

The

The roote is kil'd, how can the boughs but fade?•
But sith that Death this cruell deed hath done,
I'le blaze• the nature of this mortall foe,
And shew how it to tyranize begun.
The sequell then with iudgement view aright,
The profit may and will the paines requite.•

Esto Memor Mortis.•

C *Mortalities*

Mortalities Memorandum.

WHen *Elohim*• had giuen time beginning,
In the beginning God began to make (taine, Gen.1.1.
The heauens, and the earth,• with all that they con-
Which were created for *his Glories sake;*• Prov.16.4.
And to be Lord of part of work or'e-past,•
He *Adam* made,• and *Eue* of him at last.•

In *Eden* garden God did place them both,
To whom Commaund of all the trees he gaue,
The fruit of one tree onely to forbeare,
On paine of *Death*• (his owne he did but craue,)•
And Sathan thinking this their good too great,
Suggests the Woman, shee the man, they eate.•

Thus eating both, they both did ioyntly sinne,
And *Elohim* dishonoured by their act;
Doth ratifie,• what he had earst decreed,•
That *Death* must be the wages• of their fact;• Gen.2.17.
Thus on them, and their of-spring• thenceforth seaz'd
Mortalitie, because they God displeas'd.

In *Adam all men die,*• not one that's free 1.Cor.15.22.
From that condition we from him deriue,
By sinne *Death* entred, and began to raigne,• Rom.5.12.
But yet in *Christ shall all be made aliue.*•
Who did triumph o're sinne, o're Death, and hell,
That all his chosen may in glorie dwell.

C2 Considering

Considering then *Iehovahs*• iust decree,
That man shall surely taste of *Death* through sinne,
I• much lament, when as I mete• in minde,
The dying state securely men liue in;
Excluding from their memories that day,
When they from hence by *Death* must passe away.

Ephes.2.3. The Scripture mentioneth three kindes of *Death*,
The first whereof is called *Death* in sinne,•
When as the bodie liues, and the soule is *Dead*,
This sort of *Death* did other *Deaths* beginne.
1.Tim.5.6. The Widowes, whom Saint *Paul* doth specifie,
Their life in pleasure caus'd their soules to die.•

The vnregenerated,• sinnefull man,
That seemes to liue, but is in spirit *Dead*,
Liues to the world, and daily dies to *God*,
Prepostrously• his course of life is led;
He liues and *dies*, but cannot *die* and liue,•
Mat.15.26. *The Childrens bread to Whelps God will not giue*.•

Rom.6.11. The second kinde of *Death* is *Death to sinne*,•
Whereby the faithfull and regenerate• man
Doth daily *Mortifie*• his ill desires,
That *sin* doth neither raigne in him, nor can.
Thus *dying* in this life, in *Death* he liues,•
And after *Death* to him God glorie giues.

The third and last of these, is *Death by sinne*,•
Which as a roote two braunches forth doth send,
The former bough whereof is *Corp'rall Death*,•
The latter *Death eternall*• without end.
Which end without end God doth destinate,•
To be the stipend• of the Reprobate.•

This

This is that *Death* which sacred Scripture calls
The second *Death,** or separation
Of soule, and bodie from the loue of God;
The sinners lot, iust Condemnation.
Which *cannot be to them, that are in Christ,** *Rom.8.1.*
*Whose life is hid with him in God the hyest.** *Col.3.3.*

A *Corp'rall Death* is common vnto all,
To young, and old, to godly and vniust;
The Prince, that swayes the scepter of a Realme,*
Must with his Subiects turne by *Death* to dust.*
This is the period* of all *Adams* lyne,
Which Epilogue of life* I thus define.

When soule and bodie by one spirit knit,
Vnloosed are, and *dust returnes to earth,** *Eccle.12.7.*
The spirit vnto God that gaue it man,
By which he liues in wombe before his birth;*
The bodie voyd of soule, bereft of breath,
Is that condition called *Corp'rall Death.*

This is that *Death*, which leades the soule to life,
This is that friend, which frees vs from our paine,
This is the Portall of true Paradise,
Through which we passe eternall life to gaine;
This is the leader vnto ioy or woe,
This is the dore, through which all men must goe.

Death was at first inflicted as a curse,* *Gen.3.19.*
But *Womans seede hath brooke the Serpents head,** *Gen.3.15.*
His* bitter *Death* for vs hath gained life,
His agonie hath freed his owne from dread.
Death is that guest the godly wish to see;
For when it comes, their troubles ended be.

All

Rom.8.1. All things doe worke together for the best
To those, that loue and are beloued of God;*
If all things, then must also sinne and _Death_,
Sicknesse, and sorrowes, worlds owne scourging rod:*
For in despight of flesh, the world, and Deuill,
God to his Children brings good out of euill.*

First, we by _Death_ are freed from present woe,
And such Gods spirit hath pronounced blest,
As in the Lord depart this irkesome life;
Reuel.14.13. For _from their labours they for euer rest._*
'Tis _Death_ Conducts vs to the land of peace,
Then welcome _Death_, which doth all sorrowes cease.

If man were fettred* in a loathsome goale,*
Without one sparke of hope to come from thence,
Till Prison walls were leuell with the ground,
He would be glad to see their fall Commence.
Thy bodies ruine then reioyce to see,
That out of Goale thy soule may loosed be.

What worse Bocardo* for the soule of man,
Then is the bodie, which with filth is fraught;
Witnesse the sinkes thereof, through which doe passe
The excrements, appoynted for the draught.*
Euacuations,* loathsome in their smell,
Egested filth, vnfit for tongue to tell.

Psal.142.7. _From out of Prison bring my soule O Lord,_*
Was _Dauids_ earnest and sincere desire,
1.King.19.4. _Eliah_ in the anguish of his heart,
Did _Death_ in stead of irkesome life require.*
Vile, _Liue_, and _Euil_, haue the selfe same letters,
He _liues_ but _vile_ whom _euil_ houlds in fetters.

The

The Heathens make report, that *Argia,*•
To yeeld requitall for the toyle and paine,
Which *Biton* and *Cleobis*• for her tooke,
Desir'd the goddesse *Iuno,*• they might gaine
The greatest good, she could to man bequeath,
Which graunted was, and paid with sodeine *Death*.

The *Thracians*• sadly sorrow and lament,
When as their Children first behold the light,
But with great exultation they reioyce,
What time their friends doe bid the world *Good-night*.•
When *Dauids* Childe was sicke he would not eate,
But being *Dead*, he rose and call'd for meate.• 2.Sam.12.20.

By *Death* we secondly deliuered are,
From future sorrowes, and calamities,
The godly perish and are ta'ne away Esay 57.1.
From ill to come, as *Esay* testifies.•
And thus God cut off *Ieroboams* sonne, 1.King 14.13.
Because he saw some good in him begun.•

We thirdly are, by *Death* exempt from sinne,
And freed from bondage of inthralled• woe,
'Tis true, that life's the blessing of the Lord,
But yet by it sinne doth increase and grow.
And sinne is but the of-spring of the Deuill,•
Then blest is he, whom *Death* frees from this euill.

To some the Lord in mercie graunteth space,
For true repentance of committed sinne,
And reformation of those euill wayes,
Which through corruption they haue walked in;•
And other some, who sinne as earst before,
He takes away, that they may sinne no more.•

Death

Death Corporall in fine• is as a dore,•
Through which our soules doe passe without delay
Into those ioyes, which cannot be conceiu'd;
This truth is proued plaine, where *Christ* doth say,
Luke 23.43. *Today thou shalt be with mee* to that theefe,
Which at last gaspe did beg his soules reliefe.•

What is this world, if ballanced• with heauen;
Earths glorie fades, but heauenly ioyes indure,
This life is full of sicknesse, want, and woe;
But life through *Christ* hath no disease to cure.
In heauen there is no maladie or paine,
But melodie, true comfort to maintaine.

There Saints are Crown'd with matchlesse maiestie,
Invested with eternall roabes of glorie;•
There Sunne doth shine, and suffers no eclips,•
Earths chiefest ioyes are vaine, and transitorie.
Vnconstant, fading, fickle, and vnsure,
But heauens pleasures permanent endure.

There is no penurie, or choaking care
For present time, or the succeeding morrow;
But there are riches without toyle attain'd;
Myrth without mourning, solace without sorrow.
Peace without perill, plentie without want,
Where without asking, God doth all things grant.

1.Cor.2.9. The eye of man hath neuer yet beheld,
Nor hath his eare attended• once to heare,
Ne yet his heart conceiu'd, or vnderstood
The ioyes prepar'd, and purchas'd for the deare
And chosen Children of our heauenly Father,•
Who doth his sheepe into one sheepe-fould gather.•

And

And as our soules possesse true happiness,
So shall our mortall bodies vile and base,
Be rais'd immortall by the power of Christ, *Phil.3.21.*
And with our soules enioy a glorious place,•
That re-vnited they may ioyne in one,
To sing the praises of the *Corner-Stone*.• *Ephes.2.20.*

The day of *Death*, saith *Salomon* the Wise,•
(Which paradox the Godly approbate)•
Is better then the day that one is borne;• *Eccles.7.3.*
For *Death* conducts vs to a blisse-full state.
'Tis *Lazars* friend, though it seeme *Diues* foe,•
But life inducts vs to a world of woe.

The Mariner, which doth assay• to passe
The raging seas into some forraine• land,
Desireth much to haue his voyage ended,
And to arriue vpon the solid sand.
All creatures with desire doe seeke for rest,
After they haue with labour beene opprest.

The Pilgrim, which a iourney vndertakes,
Feeding his fancie with exoticke sights,
Deemes not his way much irkesome to his foot;
Because his paine is mixed with delights.
For 'tis his ioy to thinke vpon that day,
When he shall see the period of his way.

Men are as Saylors in this irksome life,
Who at the hauen alwayes cast their eye,
As Pilgrims wandring in a vncouth• land.
Then who is he, that will not wish to dye?
And he whom God by *Death* doth soonest call,
Is in my minde the happiest wight• of all.

D When

When *Simeon*• had embraced in his armes,
His Lord, whom he had waited long to see,
He of his Sauiour instantly desir'd
Luke 2.29. A *nunc dimittis*,• that he might be free
From bitter bondage of vnpleasant life,
Where flesh and spirit alwayes are at strife.

By their Contraries things may best be seene,•
Iet makes the Ivorie most white appeare,•
'Tis darknesse which doth manifest the light,
And sicknesse makes vs value health most deare.
Lifes miserie doth best make knowne the gaine,
And freedome, which by *Death* we doe obtaine.

Consider then the euils of this life,
Whose pleasures are as honie mixt with gall,•
Or bankes of flowers, which couer lurking snakes,
Snares to intrap, and blocks whereat some fall.
What wise-man then of them will reck'ning make,
Or wish to liue for fading pleasures sake?

It were some motiue to induce delight,
In liuing long, if life would certaine last,
But *Infancie* and *Childhood* scarce are seene,
Before that both of them are ouerpast.
Iuventus• sodeinly doth flie away,
Adoloscency makes but little stay.

Virilitie doth not continue long,
Old age• is short and hastens to an end,
Our longest life and pleasure is but briefe,
Thus tedious griefes on euery age attend.
Which like to sable clouds eclips our sunne,
And makes our glasse of life• with sorrow run.
Consider

Consider man in his abridged time,
What pricking• perill he therein doth beare;
Youth is incumbred• with vntimely harmes,
Continuall care doth *Middle-age*• out-weare.
Old-age is testie, subiect vnto griefe,
Diseases steale vpon it as a theefe.

The bodie is in danger (euery part)
Of hurt, disease, and losse of sense, and lym,•
Auditus• vnto deafnesse subiect is,
Visus• of blindesse, or of being dym,
Gustus• of sauours, bitter, tart, and sowre,
Olfactus• vnto loathsome stinks each houre.

Tactus• is subiect to benummednesse,
Our goods to spoyle by theeues, or sodeyne fire,
Good name is lyable to false reports,
Invectiue• obtrectations,• fruites of ire;
Our kindred and acquaintance subiect are
To like mishap, which falleth to our share.

Our soule in danger of vice and errour,
Our bodie subiect to imprisonment,
To hurt by beasts, as horses and the like,
Or else to spoyle by creatures virulent;•
Which with their stings doe giue vntimely wound,
Or else to squatts• and bruises on the ground.

Those dewes, which *Sol*• attracteth from the earth,
Proue most pernicious when they doe descend,•
To number all the euills of this life,
May haue beginning, but can finde no end.
For new enormities, new plagues procure,
'Tis iust to scourge, where loue cannot allure.

D_2 What

What course, or trade of life, is free from griefe?
Or what condition voyd of all annoy?
To liue in office, trouble is our lot,
To liue at home is vncouth• without ioy:
To worke in field is toylesome, full of paine,
At sea are feares, in traffique• little gaine.

In iourney ieopardie doth vs attend,
In marriage griefe and care oppresse the minde,
The single life is solitarie, vaine;
The rich can little ioy in riches finde;
For hauing much, his care must watch his wealth,
From secret pilfring, and from open stealth.

If pouerty be our appointed lot,
Our griefe is great, reliefe and comfort small,
We must endure oppression, suffer wrong,
The weake in wrestling goeth to the wall:•
If we be bit, we cannot bite againe,
If rich men strike, we must their blow sustaine.

If we be eminent in place of note,
Then stand we as a marke for enuies dart,
Coniecture censures our defect of worth,
Inquirie doth anatomize each part,
And if our reputation be but small,
Contempt and scorne doth vs and ours befall.

The infant from the wombe into the world
Comes crying, by the which it doth presage
The paines, and perils, it must vndergoe,
In childe-hood, man-hood, and decreped age,•
He that most knowes this life, least doth it loue,
Except affliction may affection• moue.•

Mans

Mans life on earth is like a Ship at Sea,*
Tost on the waues of troubles to and fro,
Assayl'd by pirates, crost by blustring windes,
Where rockes of ruine menace ouerthrow.
Where stormes molest, and hunger pincheth sore,
Where *Death* doth lurke at euery Cabbin dore.

Yet some afflictions in this irkesome life,
God doth in mercie to his Children send,
Thereby to weane them from the loue of that,
Which is but noysome, and will soone haue end.
That so their *liking may be set aboue*,* Col.3.2.
Vpon those pleasures which shall neuer moue.

Which made the Chosen vessell of the Lord, Phil.1.23.
That he might be with Christ, desire to *die*,*
And *Iob* to wish his dayes were at an end,* Iob.6.8-9.
Because his life was naught* but miserie.
The godly man is tyred with his breath,
And findes no rest, till he be free by *Death*.

What then is life that it should be desir'd?
Or what aduantage by it doth man winne?
Is not this world a net to snare the soule?
Doe not long liuers multiplie their sinne?
Is not this life a mappe of miserie,
The quite contrarie of tranquilitie.

For though the seeming pleasures of this life
Doe cause vs loue it, yet the paines may moue
Vs to contemne the bait, which hides the hooke,
And rather loath, then either like or loue,
A path of Ice, where footing is vnsure,
Or bitter pills, though guilded* to allure.*

But

But some (who liue as *Dives*• did) may say,
That life is sweet, and comfort doth afford,
That there are few whom sicknesse doth arrest,
But wish most earnestly to be restor'd.
1.King.20.3.5. That *Hezekiah* wept when he heard tell,
That God would haue him bid the world farewell.•

As also *David* to the Lord did say,
Psal.119.175. *Let my soule liue, that it may praise thee still;*•
Luke 22.42. And Christ did pray, his *Cup* might from him passe,•
If so it were his holy Fathers will:
But *Hezekiah* wept, because that yet
He had no issue on his throne to sit.•

And *Dauids* wish• from reason did proceed;
For he was then perplexed with his foe,
Who would with exultation haue affirm'd,
That God in wrath had wrought his ouerthrow.
And of Christs prayer• this was the reason why,
Gal.3.13. Because he was a cursed *Death* to die.•

When godly men doe dread the sight of *Death*,
Their fearefulnesse it is but natures errour,
Mat.26.41. *The spirit's readie, but the flesh is weake,*•
Assisting grace will mitigate their terrour.
Yet some mens feare doth issue from mistrust,
That they shall neuer shine among the iust.

The conscience of whose life in sinne mis-led,
At sight of *Death* doth make them trembling stand,
Dan.5.6. And like *Belshatsar* change their wonted lookes,•
Because that their destruction is at hand.
For when that God o're them giues *Death* full power,
Graue takes their bodies, hell their soules deuoure.
They

They know that sinne deserues eternall *Death*;
And therefore feare when they depart from hence,
And that their Lampe of life is quite extinct,•
Their pleasures shall conclude, and paines commence.
The worme of *Conscience* gnawes so in their brest,
As makes their terrour not to be exprest.

And then (too late) with *Balam* they desire, *Num. 23.10.*
(When they perceiue their latter end draw nie)•
That they the righteous may assimilate
In their departure, and like them may die.•
But holy life is that portendeth blisse,
He that liues well can neuer die amisse.•

That man which liues a sanctifyed• life,
Yet doth not die with outward peace and rest,
Through conflicts had with Sathan and his lusts;
Iudge not amisse of him, whom God hath blest.
In leading by the fate of hell to ioy,
Where he shall be exempt from all annoy.

For sometimes 'tis the lot of wicked men,
Which in impietie their life haue led,
To outward view to leaue this world in peace,
Without so much as strugling on their bed.
The *Death* of *Nabal* who so noteth well,
Shall finde that many passe like stones to hell.• *1. Sam. 25.37.*

Death is the messenger of weale• and woe,
Like *Ioseph*, which foretold of dignitie,
That *Pharoah* on his Butler would bestow, *Gen. 40.13-19.*
But to the Baker fatall miserie.
He did predict should sodeinly ensue,
Which, as he said, did quickly fall out true.•

Vnto

Vnto the faithfull, *Death* doth tydings bring
Of life, of fauour, and eternall rest,
How they from out the prison of this world,
In which with griefes they haue beene sore opprest,
Shall be receiu'd through Christs eternall loue
To liue for euer with their God aboue.

For though that *Death* considered in it selfe
Be fearefull, and doth many terrors bring,
Yet vnto them there is no cause of dread;
For by Christs *Death* grim *Mors*• hath lost it• sting.•
That as a toothlesse Snake no hurt can doe,
No more can *Death* procure the godly woe.

1.Cor.15.56. The sting of *Death* the Scripture sayth is *sinne*,•
Christs powerfull *Death* hath tooke *Deaths* power away,
Hosea 13.14. That by the merit of his Conquering word;
To *Death* and Hell we may with boldnesse say,•
Death where's thy sting, Hell where's thy victorie?•
1.Cor.15.55. In Christ we liue maugre• thy tyrannie.

The godly onely comfort finde in *Death*,
They view the end, and not regard the way,
And with the eye of faith they see, that God
Intends more good to them, then earth can pay:
And though *to die* they dare not supplicate,
Yet for their dissolution• they doe waite.

So that if *Death* arrest them vnawares,
Yet can it not them vnprepared finde,
And if with respite• they depart this world,
Their wel-led life doth consolate• their minde,
And makes them welcome *Death* with ioy of heart;
'Tis happie newes that they from life must part.

But

But to the wicked *Death* brings word of *Death*;
For why to them it hath not lost it sting:
It is but the exordium* of their woes,
And as a Goalor* doth from Prison bring
Their guiltie soules, to suffer for their sinne
Those paines which end not, though they doe begin.

Within them terror doth affright their mindes,
Aboue them they the face of iustice see,*
Beneath them horrour doth affront their sight,*
About them vgly Deuils readie bee,
With watchfull eyes, most willing without grudge,
To execute the pleasure of the Iudge.*

Death takes them as it findes them, and forthwith
It doth present them, as it doth them take,
Vnto the Lord, who censures* their deserts,
As they are found, when they appearance make.
And as they are adiudged, so they must,
For euer vnder-goe their sentence iust.

Mortalitie is Gods exact decree,*
Which as the deluge of his kindled ire,
Hath ouerwhelmed with a dying life
Decaying man,* whose state doth still require,
And pregnantly* induce to thinke on *Death*,
Ere it obstruct the passage of his breath.

Three motiues mouing man to meditate
On *Death*, ere *Death*, I briefely will declare; *Psal. 89. 48.*
First the *Necessitie* that men *must die*,* *Deut. 31. 14.*
By which they are forewarned to prepare,
Against* that time, when they *must* goe from hence,
This strict *Oportet** will with none dispence.

Those daily obiects man doth speculate,•
Present vnto his thought, that he *must die;*•
For all things in this world declare and shew,
That man is subiect to *Mortalitie;*
Those vegetiues,• which bud and spring out most,
Doth *Hyems*• kill, and cut away with frost.

1.Pet.3.10. The elements• must be dissolu'd with heate,•
The *Macrocosmus*• it must passe away,
Luke 21.33. And man the *Microcosmus*• needs *must die,*
Both young and old *must* goe to *Golgotha.*•
Faire buildings leuell with the ground must lye,
And strongest Citties come to nullitie.

Dan.6.15. The *Medes*• and *Persians* did their lawes confirme
So strongly, that they could not altred bee,•
Heb.9.27. And this appointment *all men once must die,*•
Is as infallible, as their decree.•
2.Sam.14.14. *We needs must die,*• to pay what God doth lend,
Life had beginning, and *must* haue an end.

From earth man came, to dust he *must* returne,•
This is the descant• of *Deaths* fatall dittie,
All men are mortall, therefore *must* they die,
Heb.13.14. And *Paul* sayth, *Here is no abiding Cittie.*•
Mans dayes consume like wax against the Sunne,
Job 7.6. And as a Weauers shittle• swiftly runne.•

That thing, which may bee, may be doubted off,•
And as a thing vncertaine passe neglected;
But things that *must* be, greater heed require,
And of necessitie *must* bee expected.
Then thinke on *Death*, ere *Death*, for truth doth show,
That *Death must* come, but when we may not know.

The

The second motiue moouing thought of *Death*,
Is the impartialitie of it,
Respecting neither persons, age, or sexe,
By bribes sinister it doth none acquit;
Friends nor intreaties can no whit• preuaile,
Where *Death* arrests it will admit no Bayle.

What is become of *Absolom* the faire?•
Dauid the Victor,• *Salomon* the wise?•
Cressus the worldly rich,• *Dives* the wretch?•
Sampson the strong,• that was bereft of eyes?
From these, and more then these, with whetted knife,
Death hath cut off the siluer thread of life.

It is hereditarie vnto all,
Lazarus dead, Dives must also die,• *Luke 16.22.*
Passe from his downe-bed to his bed of dust,
And vntil doomes day• in earths bowels• lye.
Death scatters that, which life had carking• got,
And casts on youthfull yeares old ages lot.

Like *Iehues* shaft it spares not *Iorams* heart,• *2.King 9.24.*
But makes Kings subiect to it awelesse power.
Dauid must yeeld to tread the beaten path,
When *Death* with open mouth meanes to deuoure.• *1.King 2.2.*
And hauing changed corps to dust, who then
Can well distinguish Kings from other men?

The greatest Monarchs of earths Monarchie,
Whom God with worldly honours highly blest,
Deaths Beesome• from this life hath swept away,
Their stories Epilogue is *Mortuus est*.• *Gen.5.5.*
For *Death* to all men dissolution brings,
Yea, the *Catastrophe*• it is of Kings.

Great *Alexander*• Conquer'd many Lands,
And sauage Creatures he bereft of breath;
But in the Records of his famous acts,•
It is not writ, that he did Conquer *Death*.
The stoutest souldiour fitted for the field,
Maugre• his might to *Death* his life must yeeld.

Methushelah,• one of the longest liuers,
Could not escape the peircing dart of *Death*,
But when the sand out of his glasse was runne,•
Mors stopt the passage of his vitall breath.
Death from the stately throne to graue deiects,
No more the Prince then Peasant it respects.

It doth dissolue the knot by friendship knit,
From *Dauid* it takes *Ionathan* away,•
And Children of their Parents it bereaues,•
Parents their Children must not haue for aye.•
Without respect of any or remorce,
It workes the husband's, and his wifes diuorce.•

'Tis so impartiall, that it spareth none,
But doth surprize the rich as well as poore,
It was not *Tullies*• learned eloquence,
That could perswade *Death* to passe by his dore.
Nor is it wealth or prowesse that can tame,
Gen.3.19. *Deaths* vigour, for it sends men whence they came.•

The third and last• is the *vncertaintie*
Of *Deaths* approach, as *when* or at what time,
It will arrest vs, whether in old age,
Or our Virilitie and youthfull prime.
The which must cause continuall thought of *Death*,
That vnawares it may not stop our breath.

Time

Time turnes the heauens in a certaine course,
The Storke and Crane appoynted seasons know,* Ier.8.7.
The starres their constant motions doe obserue,
Tides haue their times to ebbe and ouer-flow.
Mans fickle state doth onely rest vnsure
Of certaine course, and season to endure.

The Tenant thinkes vpon that date of time,
Which will his lease of house or land expire;
But of the end or *punctum** of this life,
Whereof we haue no lease, who doth inquire?
We in this life are Tenants but at will,
God onely knowes the time we must fulfill.

The Preter time,* which is alreadie past,
Was ours, but neuer will be so againe;
The Future time perhaps shall not be ours,
To make account thereof is therefore vaine;
The instant* time which present we inioy
Is onely ours to mannage and imploy.*

It makes no doubt but many men would mourne,
If they exactly knew their finall day
Should be within a yeare of present time,
Yet now with mirth they passse their time away;
When as perhaps they shall not liue one houre,
Nay in a moment, *Death*, may them deuoure.

Some tender Infants in their Cradle die,
Like blooming blossomes blowne from off the tree;*
Dauids young sonne *must die*,* it is decreed, 2.Sam.12.18.
That length of dayes he shall not liue to see.
Thus greedie *Death* plucks buds from off the tree,
When fruits mature grow and vngath'red bee.*

There

There is no man on earth that can foretell,
Where Death, or in what place will vs select,
Abroad, at home, in cittie, or the field,
It is *vncertaine*, that we may expect
Deaths comming alwayes, and in euery place,
To make compleate the currant* of our race.*

The manner of *Deaths* comming, *How* 'twill be,
God hath conceal'd to make vs vigilant.
Some die by sicknesse, others by mishap,
Some die with surfeit, other some with want:*
Some die by fire, some perish by the Sword,
Some drown'd in Water swim vnto the Lord.*

Pope *Adrian* was stifeled with a Gnatt,*
Old *Anacreon* strangled with a Grape,*
A little hayre did choake great *Fabius*,*
*Saphira** could not sodeine *Death* escape.
Into this life we all but one way came,
But diuers wayes we goe out of the same.

If God from perill did not vs protect,
Our daily food might stop our vitall breath,
The things we neither doubt, nor feare, may proue
The instruments of an vntimely *Death*.
And in a moment worke our liues decay,
When we least thinke vpon our ending day.

'Tis God omniscient which doth onely know
The time of life, that man on earth must liue,
Deut. 32.50. At his appoyntment *Moses must goe die*,*
Who bounds and limmit vnto time doth giue:
Man happen may to aske *Where*, *When*, and *How*,
Death will surprize, but God sayth *Thus*, *here*, *now*.

Of

Of lifes decay man information hath,
From certaine *monitors,*· which vsher *Death;*
The first whereof proclaimes th'vncertaintie
Of time determin'd for mans vse of breath.
The second doth discouer miserie.
The third inevitable certaintie.

The first of these is sodeine casualtie,
Which doth suggest that *Death* may doubtfull be,
The second sicknesse, which with irksome groanes
Declares, that *Death* may grieuous be to thee.
Thirdly old-age this rule doth verifie,
Young men may faile, but aged men must die.·

It therefore is most requisite for those,
That wish to be vpright in iudgement found,
Not by their workes, but for their Sauiours meed,·
To thinke they alwayes heare the last trump· sound.
That they their soules in readinesse may make:
For when *Death* comes 'twill no excuses take.

Iehovah by his *Vtinam*· doth shew *Deut.32.29.*
His great desire, that men should haue respect
To *vnderstand* and thinke vpon their end,
Which want of wisedome causeth them neglect.
For surely where the Lord doth knowledge giue,
Men liue and learne to *die,* and *die* to liue.·

To entertaine a Legate from a King·
In costly manner, many will prepare;
Yet *Death* that comes from him, that's King of Kings.·
Welcome to bid,· there are but few that care;
But *as the tree doth fall, so shall it lye,*· *Eccl.11.3.*
And men must rise to iudgement as they *die.*

That

That thing, which at all seasons may be done,
When euer done, is not done out of season;
A daily expectation of that guest,
Which any time may come proceeds from reason.
Ierusalem her latter end forgot,
And therefore desolation was her lot.•

Invading *Mors* without remorse deuoures,
And if we be not arm'd ere it assault,
We shall be foyled• ere we can be arm'd;
If we be taken tardie 'tis our fault.
For sith• 'tis certaine, *Mors* will surely strike,
We must expect *Deaths* poyson pointed pyke.•

That vnawares we may not be surpriz'd,
But readie to receiue that fatall blowe,
Which cannot be resisted when it comes,
No more then force of flouds which ouerflow.
Premeditation is the best defence
Against this foe, which will with none dispence.

For from continuall thought of *Deaths* assault,
Doe sundry speciall benefits arise,
Carelesse securitie• it first preuents,
Wherewith our ghostly foe• doth blind our eyes;
And by which he makes vs quite forget,
That there's a Centre in our Circle set.•

By thought of *Death* (in second place) we gaine
Acquaintance, with our foe afore our fight,
Expected dangers loose their greatest force.
1.Cor.15.31. *Pauls dying daily*• put false feare to flight.
'Those faces, which at first haue vgly hew,
'Grow into liking through their often view.

Thirdly

Thirdly by thought of _Death_, ere life decay,
We shall contemne this world and hold it vaine,
Into the which we nothing brought at first,
Nor from it can we carrie ought againe.• _1.Tim.6.7._
As also know whil'st on this Sea we floate,
We are but strangers, from our home remote.•

The _Doue_, which _Noah_ sent from forth the _Arke_, _Gen.8.9._
Could finde no rest, till shee return'd againe;•
Nor can the faithfull, till they goe to Christ,
True rest and quiet without griefe obtaine:
Heauen is the hauen of the faithfull wight,•
Christ's loue the obiect of their soules delight.

The soule of _Dauid_ panted after God, _Psal.42.1._
And thirsted oft his presence to obtaine;•
The father of the faithfull• liu'd in tents, _Heb.11.9._
And stranger-like in _Canaan_ did remaine.•
That he might no where settle his abode,
But in the Cittie of the liuing God.

Fourthly, premeditation of our _Death_,
Doth cause vs crucifie• our sinfull lust,
And by the spirit mortifie the flesh,• _Gal.5.24._
That soule may liue when bodie turnes to _dust_;
And makes vs know that costly roabes and meate,
Doe decke• and nourish food for Wormes to eate.•

Fifthly, the thought of our decease by _Death_,
Doth moue vs seriously to waigh• in minde,
How that our first materiall• was but earth;
That life is short, vnconstant as the Winde:• _Iob 7.7._
Like mist and dew, which Sunne doth driue away,
Or swift as Eagles hasting to their pray.• _Iob 9.26._
F Man

1.Pet.1.24. Man is in sacred Writ compar'd to grasse,•
Which flourishing to day sends forth it• flowre,
With'ring at night, is cast into the fire,
Of short persistance, like an Aprill showre.
For who so now perceiues the Sunne to shine,
His life is done before that it decline.

Psal.102.3. Our dayes consume and passe away like smoake,•
Like Bauens• blaze soone kindled, soone extinct,
Iob.9.26. Or like a Ship which swiftly slides the Sea,•
Vncertaine, fickle, irkesome, and succinct .•
Recite I all the fading types I can.
Yet none so momentanie• as is man.

Iob 8.9. Vnto a shadow *Iob* doth life compare,•
Which when the bodie moues, doth vanish quite,
Iob.20.8. To vanitie, and likewise to a dreame,•
Whereof we haue an hundred in one night.
Psal. 39.5. *Dauid's* resembling• life vnto a span,•
Doth shew the short continuance of man.

If happinesse consist in length of dayes,
An Oke more happie then a man appeares;•
So doth the *Elephant*, and sturdie *Stagge*,
Which commonly doe liue two hundred yeares:•
Psal.90.10. But mortall man, as *Moses* doth vnfould,
If he liue fourescore yeares is counted old.•

When *Xerxes* with ten hundred thousand men
Attempted warre, his eyes did showre forth teares;
To thinke, not one of those, whom he imploy'd,
Should be aliue within one hundred yeares.•
For *Adams* heyres ingaged• doe remaine
To pay, what he receiu'd, and lost againe.

The

The day wherein we first behold the light,
Begins our *Death*, for life doth daily fade,
Our day of *Death* begins our happie life,
We are in danger, till our debt is paid.
Life is but lent, we owe it to the Lord,
When 'tis demanded, it must be restor'd.·

A false imagination of long life
Made *Diues*· sing a *requiem* to his soule, Luke 12.19.
Inlarge his Barnes,· disport,· and make good cheare,
Till iust *Iehovah* did his thoughts controwle.
Who calls him *foole*, and quells his fond delight,
By threat'ning iudgement to befall that night.·

Sixthly, the thought of *Deaths* most sure approach,
Doth moue contrition· for our preter sinne,·
And workes restraint of present ill desires,
Inspiring constant purpose to begin,
A faithfull life by Gods assisting grace,
That to his glory we may runne our race.

Lastly, premeditation of our *Death*,
Induceth vs to commendable care,
For setling and disposing our estate·
To those, whom we intend shall haue a share,
That when we are departed from this life,
Our goods may proue no coales to kindle strife.·

When *Hezekiah Iudahs* King was sicke,
And at the entrie of *Deaths* dore did lye,
The Prophet *Esay* came to him, and sayd,
Put thou thy house in order, thou must die;· Esay.38.1.
Which paradigma· plainely doth ingraue
That 'tis a dutie God himselfe doth craue.·
F$_2$ Neglect

Neglect of which disturbs vs at our end,
When we should be exempt from worldly care,
When doubt of who shall reape what we haue sowne
Distracts our thoughts, and doth our peace impaire;
Withdrawing our affections from aboue,
Where we and not where els˙ should fixe our loue.

Vnto that place prepar'd for Gods elect˙
Afore˙ the world, the Lord conduct vs still,
And grant that we the measure of our dayes,
To his good pleasure may on earth fulfill;
That when wee to our period˙ doe attaine,
We may with Christ in glory euer raigne.

Amen.

Lord Iesus come quickly.

FINIS.

Faults escaped in Printing.

PAge 10.line.16.for *perceiuing* read *pearcing*.
Page 18.line.26. for *attended* read *atteined*.
Page 23.line 15. for *naught* read *nought*.

NOTES

TITLE PAGE

Mortalities Memorandum: in Speght's time, a memorandum was anything written that was to be remembered. Thus, her work is a memorandum about mortality (Death).

imaginarie in manner; ***reall in matter*****:** a suggestion that the information imparted is told in a fictional or storylike way, but is real or true.

Live to die...amongst the just**:** PROVERB "So shouldst thou lyve as thou mayst dye, and then shalt thou die to lyve" *[ODEP]*. "To live to die, and die to live"*[SPL]*. "He that lives well shall die well (cannot die amiss)" *[DPE (L391)]*.

DEDICATION PAGES

Marie Moundford: Speght's godmother and wife of Doctor Thomas Moundford, physician to Elizabeth I and James I. The Moundfords lived on Milk Street in James Speght's parish, so Rachel presumably had regular contact with her godmother. Moundford was known for taking in young girls and educating them as is evidenced in the autobiography of her grandson (Sir John Bramston). It is possible that she helped with Speght's education. It seems likely that Mrs. Moundford offered emotional support for Speght throughout her life, since Speght so lovingly dedicates this work, inspired by her mother's death, to Moundford. For more information, see "Biography" in the Introduction.

Amongst...benefit: i.e., "among the many reasons for publishing this work, though it was originally written for personal reasons, the most important is that it may benefit many people."

Corne...hungry: possibly Speght's own rendition of the parable of the talents *Matt.25.14-30*.

A candle...an house: *Matt.5.15*. This parable is also mentioned in *Mark 4.21*. Speght's biblical references are taken from the Geneva Bible, which was favoured by the Puritans.

None but...a Napkin: *Matt.25.30*, parable of the talents.

oblivious: forgetful *[Bullokar, Cockeram]*.

off: = of.

***Iacob* say, *I have enough*:** *Gen.45.28*; when *Jacob* (aka Israel) son of Isaac and Rebekah, was first told that Joseph, his long-lost son, was alive he could not believe it; however, after his other sons told him everything that Joseph had said and shown him everything that Joseph had sent, *Jacob* was convinced that his son was alive and he uttered these words "I have enough," i.e., "I am now satisfied."

latter end: Death.

***mouzeling Melastomus*:** a reference to Speght's 1617 work, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, written in response to Joseph Swetnam's *The Arraignment of lewd, idle, froward, and unconstant women*. The "criticall Readers" whose "censures" have "toucht" Speght likely include her female contemporaries, Ester Sowernam (pseud.) and Constantia Munda (pseud.) who published responses (*Ester Hath hang'd Haman* and *The Worming of a mad Dogge*, respectively) to Swetnam's work after having read Speght's response and finding it inadequate. There is evidence that Speght's *Mouzell* was read and condemned by at least one other contemporary reader. As Cis van Heertum has pointed out in "A Hostile Annotation of Rachel Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617)," the Beinecke Library (Yale) copy of *A Mouzell for Melastomus* has a considerable amount of marginalia that appears to have been written by an early 17th-century hand. It is likely that the writer was a male, as the comments are extremely misogynistic. This anonymous critic seemed to think that the unmarried Speght was advertising her availability for a husband in her work, since she mentions a few times that she is young and since she explains that she will not comment on widows because she has never been married before. He also makes some other bawdy remarks about Speght's virtue. Whether or not Speght was aware of this particular critic's opinion is uncertain, but she was probably aware of similar opinions held by other readers of her time.

of spring: = offspring.

abortiue: that which is untimely borne *[Bullokar, Cockeram]*.

strong motiue...father of me: i.e., a strong impetus for writing the present work, *Mortalities Memorandum*, came from the fact that critics wrongly attributed my first work, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, to my father, and now I want to prove to them, for my right's sake, that I not only was capable of writing *A Mouzell* and did write it, but also that I deserve credit for having done so.

adagie: obs. form of **adage:** a maxim handed down from antiquity; a proverb *[OED]*.

***quot homines, tot sententiae*:** PROVERB Latin for "there are as many opinions as there are men" *[Terence's Phormio 1.454]*.

apothegme: obs. form of **apophthegm:** a quick, short, and witty saying, worth noting *[Cockeram]*.

sequel: that which follows *[Bullokar, Cockeram]*.

promise: Presumably, Moundford's promise as a godparent at the baptismal service for Speght. According to the practice of the Anglican church, certain persons assist in the administration of baptism by making a profession of the Christian faith on behalf of the person baptized and by promising to guarantee his or her religious education *[OED]*.

repute: to esteem; to account of *[Bullokar, Cockeram]*.

paradigma: an example or pattern *[OED]*.

***Pauls* precept, *be not wearie...if you faint not*:** *Gal.6.9.*

operation: a work, presumably *Mortalities Memorandum* *[Cockeram]*.

TO THE READER

Muses: the nine muses, the patron goddesses of man's intellectual and creative endeavors; daughters of Zeus and the goddess of memory, Mnemosyne *[OCCL]*.

depraue: to speak evil of one; to corrupt or distort the sense *[Bullokar, Cockeram]*.

behoofe: (arch.) benefit, advantage *[OED]*.

THE DREAME

PAGE 1

***Sol*:** (Roman mythology) the Sun (personified) *[OED]*.

***Phoebus*:** Like other writers before and after her, Speght seems to be mixing the Titaness *Phoebus* with *Phoebus*, the moon goddess. According to the *OCCL*, *Phoebus* comes from *Phoibe*, meaning "the bright one." Hesiod *[Theogony 136,404]* claims that *Phoebus* was a Titaness, a daughter of *Uranus* (Heaven) and *Gaea* (Earth), the wife of *Coeus*, and the mother of *Asteria* and *Leto*. *Leto*, by *Zeus*, became the mother of twins -- a boy, *Phoebus Apollo*, and a girl, *Artemis*. In later mythology the Titaness *Phoebus* was associated with the moon, perhaps through confusion with her granddaughter, *Artemis,* who used *Phoebus* as a surname in her capacity as the goddess of the moon (*Luna*), the female antithesis to the god of the sun, *Phoebus Apollo* [*SMITH III.343*; Virgil *Georgics I.431*; *Aeneid X.215*; Ovid, *Heroides XX.229*].

***Titans*:** (Greek Mythology) member of a family of gigantic early gods, the children of *Uranus* (Heaven) and *Gaea* (Earth) *[OED]*. In this case, Speght may be using the general name *Titan* to refer specifically to *Coeus*, who was a *Titan* brother to *Phoebus* as well as her husband.

Creatures: animals (as distinct from humans) *[OED]*.

sensitiue: of living beings, those endowed with the faculty of sensation, but not reason; of the soul, that one of the three kinds of soul or constituent parts of the soul which is concerned with sensation and which is characteristic of animals, as distinguished from the *vegetative soul* which is common to plants and from the *intellectual soul* which, in rational animals (humans), is superadded to the two others *[OED]*.

earst: at first; earlier *[OED]*.

Morpheus: god of sleep and dreams *[OCCL, OED]*.

Divrnall: of the day, daily *[OED]*.

***Aurora*:** the Roman goddess of the dawn, represented as rising with rosy fingers from the saffron-coloured bed of her lover, *Tithonus [OED]*.

supernall: obs. form of **supernal**: heavenly, divinely *[OED]*.

***Cosmus*:** obs. form of **cosmos**, a philosophical concept of the universe as an ordered whole, attributed to either Pythagoras or Parmenides in the late 6th century B.C. *[OED, OCCL]*.

wanting: lacking; requiring, needing *[OED]*.

PAGE 2

Upon a sodeyne: = suddenly.

***Thought*:** the first of a series of personifications which include *Ignorance*, *Experience*, *Age*, *Erudition* (learning or schoalrship), *Industrie* (diligence), *Disswasion* (that which exercise influence to discourage or divert a person from something), *Desire*, *Truth*, and *Instruction*.

what I would: what I wanted.

Hauen: a recess or inlet of the sea, or the mouth of a river, affording good anchorage and a safe station for ships; a harbour or port; refuge *[OED]*.

onely: = only and singly.

period: the goal; end to be attained *[OED]*.

race: the course of life or some portion of it; the course of time; the course, line or path taken by a person *[OED]*.

Quoth: (arch.) quoted or said *[OED]*. Speght uses this deliberate archaism throughout. See pages 3, 4, and 5.

***Ignorance*:** considered here as a disease or malady.

natures lore: nature's learning or knowledge; instinct.

seeming science: instinct; apparent knowledge.

customes fruit: that which is normal.

want: lack; require, need *[OED]*.

this griefe: Ignorance, as disease.

PAGE 3

golden mean: According to Aristotle "there are three kinds of disposition, two of them vices, involving excess and deficiency respectively, and one a virtue, *viz.* the mean" and "the intermediate state is in all things to be praised" [*Ethica Nichomachea* II.8,9]; the avoidance of excess in either direction *[OED]*. Horace (65-8 B.C.) later said "Whoever cultivates the golden mean avoids the poverty of a hovel and the envy of a palace" *[Odes II.x.5]*.

my weaknesse: Ignorance.

extremes: According to Aristotle, the two extremes, excess and deficiency, "show the greatest unlikeness to each other" [*Ethica Nicomachea* II.9]; see Spenser's *Fairie Queene* [Book II.ii] for an allegorical treatment of the two extremes, Perissa (Gk. *perissos*, "excess in relation to the mean) and Elissa (Gk. *elleipsis*, "deficiency in moral virtue"), sisters to Medina (Golden Mean).

mischiefe: a misfortune; a calamity *[OED]*.

blinde: without foresight, discernment, intellectual perception *[OED]*.

without the compasse of my braine: beyond the scope or extent of learning.

I measure... owne shooe: PROVERB "Measure yourself (not another) by your own foot" *[DPE (M455), ODEP]*. "Hee measures another mans foote by his owne last." *[DPE (M456), BDPF]*.

appoint: (arch.) to determine, resolve; to do or suffer something *[OED]*.

sue: entreat; make entreaty to *[OED]*.

much imploy'd: = often asked for help.

triall: trying thing or experience, hardship, trouble *[OED]*.

meet: (arch.) suitable, fit, proper *[OED]*.

PAGE 4

what I would: what I wanted.

irkesome griefe: Ignorance.

wrought: (arch.) past tense form of the verb **work:** brought about, effected, accomplished, produced as a result *[OED]*.

Knowledge: Speght does not mean simply intellectual understanding when she mentions **knowledge** here. According to *HBD*, in the Old and New Testaments, **knowledge** is a term that includes experience, emotion, and personal relationship along with intellectual understanding. In the Old Testament, Adam and Eve ate of the tree of knowledge of good and evil which changed their relationship with God. (See page 13 of *Mortalities Memorandum*). In the New Testament, **knowledge** assumes faith in God and Jesus and obedience to them. Speght mentions **knowledge** on page 2, line 30; page 5, line 18, 22; page 6, line 26; page 8, lines 7-28.

nought: (poet. or arch.) nothing; worthless, useless *[OED]*.

remoraes: comes from "remora" which is a little fish that attaches itself to the bottom of ships and prevents them from moving; sucking fish *[Bullokar, OED]*. (arch.) obstruction, impediment *[OED]*.

lore: learning, knowledge *[Bullokar, Cockeram]*.

Harquebuz: a hand gun, shorter but bigger and heavier than a musket; a muzzle-loading gun *[Bullokar, Cockeram, OED]*.

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aboue: from God in heaven.

Her friends...purpose misse: the female narrator's friends -- *Desire*, *Truth* and *Industrie* -- will make *Disswasion* falter in its attempt to prevent the narrator from proceeding on her journey.

issue: (obs.) the event or fortune befalling a person; luck in an undertaking; result, outcome *[OED]*. Thus, when *Truth* says to *Disswasion* "by the issue of her owne attempt,/ I'le make thee *labor omnia vincet* know" it means that the female narrator's attempt to attain an education will have fortunate or good results, proving that a woman is capable of gaining an education and of benefitting from it.

***labor omnia vincet*:** Latin for "work or labour overcomes or conquers all" *[VIRGIL Georgics I.145]*.

sith: = since; very common from 1520-1670, expressing cause *[OED]*.

Which *Paul* doth bodie, soule, and spirit call: *1 Thess.5.23*.

The talent...must have againe: *Luke 19.23*; the modern meaning of **talent** as "mental endowment" or "natural ability" originated from a figurative use of the word taken from the parable of the talents. The word was used in the modern sense as early as 1430 *[OED]*.

God of *Knowledge*: *1 Sam.2.3.*

'Twas *Maries*...did loue: *Luke 10.42;* When Martha welcomed Jesus into her home she immediately busied herself with serving him, but her sister, Mary, sat at Jesus' feet and listened to his teaching. Martha became perturbed that her sister was not helping her serve and she asked the Lord if he was upset with Mary, to which he responded: "Mary has chosen the good portion [i.e., the Lord's teaching], which shall not be taken away from her."

***Cleobulina*:** (*fl.* 570 B.C.) the daughter of Cleobis of Lindus, also called *Eumetis*, who wrote riddles in hexameter verse *[ROD]*. Plutarch includes her in *The Banquet of the Seven Wise Men* [*Morals* II, 8,11,13,19-20], and makes mention of her in *Conjugal Precepts* [*Morals* II, 506], in *Wherefore the Pythian Priestess Now Ceases To Deliver Her Oracles In Verse* [*Morals* III, 83], and in the *Life of Solon* [I, 332]. Diogenes Laertius claims that Cratinus named his play, *Cleobulinae*, after her [*DL's Lives* I, 89]. Christine de Pizan mentions *Cleobulina* in *L'Avision* (1405) [118]. Juan Luis de Vives' *Instruction of a Christian Woman* (1524), translated into English by Richard Hyrde in 1540, praises *Cleobulina's* learning and chastity and counts her as a member of the "hundred good" women of the old world [21]. Speght likely found most of her *exempla* of classical women in Plutarch's *Lives* and *Morals* and in Diogenes Laertius's *Lives*.

Demophila: (7thC B.C.) also called *Damophyle* or *Damophila [ROD]*; *The Life and Times of Apollonius of Tyana*, [Book One, section 30] by Philostratus (AD 170-245) describes her as an accomplished woman from Pamphylia who was a close friend and imitator of Sappho and who composed erotic songs as well as hymns in the Aeolian and Pamphylian modes.

***Telesilla*:** (6thC B.C.) According to Plutarch's *Concerning the Virtues of Women* [*Morals* I, 346] this noble woman was a poet and heroine of Argos who had a diseased body. She consulted an oracle about her health and was told that she should serve the Muses. She did this, was healed, and became "the mirror of women in the art of poetry." *Telesilla* also inspired the women of Argos to arm and repulse their Spartan enemy, King Cleomenes.

Cornelia: (2ndC B.C.) daughter of *Scipio Africanus*, wife of *Gracchus*, mother of *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus*. Her letters were models of composition and her eloquence was famous. With *Aspasia*, she is among the most commonly cited classic *exempla* of intellectual women *[ROD]*. Her story is told along with her sons in Plutarch's *Lives* [IV, 506-7]; Plutarch also mentions her in *Concerning the Virtue of Women* [*Morals* I, 341] and *Conjugal Precepts* [*Morals* II, 506]. She is referred to by

Henry Cornelius Agrippa and by Castiglione [*The Courtier*, Book III, 232]. Vives praised her eloquence [29] and claimed that she "was an example of al goodnes and chastitie, [who] taught her children her owne selfe" [20].

hight: named, or called; a deliberate archaism from the 14th century *[OED]*.

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Hypatia: (4th-5thC A.D.) a mathematician and instructor of astronomy in Alexandria, daughter of Theon, though more celebrated than her father. She was one of the most famous members of the Neoplatonic school at Alexandria and was often called upon to advise the city's governor, Orestes. Unfortunately, an Alexandrian mob who opposed the governor's measures, which they believed resulted from *Hypatia's* advice, murdered her in March, 415. Her works were lost, but it is known that she wrote commentaries on Diophantus' *Astronomical Canon* and on Apollonius of Perga's *Conics of Invention [HDCLA, OCCL]*.

Aspatia: (5thC B.C.) a celebrated woman of Miletus, daughter of Axiochus, mistress, then co-vivant, of *Pericles*. According to Plato's *Menexenus*, she taught Socrates, founded a school of rhetoric in Athens, and composed *Pericles'* celebrated funeral oration, delivered after the first year of the Peloponnesian War *[HDCLA]*. She is maligned by Aristophanes in *The*

Acharnians, but Plutarch defends her against charges of harlotry and irreligion in the *Life of Pericles* [I, 349-51, 360-61]. Castiglione mentions her in *The Courtier* [Book III, 239].

Duke *Pericles*: (c.500-429 B.C.) a great Athenian statesman, son of Xanthippus, known for his persuasive oratory, character and policy. He associated with men of culture, such as Herodotus and Sophocles, and took *Aspasia* for his lifelong companion *[OCCL]*. There is a *Life of Pericles* [I, 318-371] in Plutarch.

Areta: (5thC B.C.) also known as *Arete*, which Plato used as a name for "honour." She was the daughter of Aristippus, founder of the Cyrenaic school of philosophy. (Aristippus is mentioned in Plutarch's *Life of Dion* [V, 262-63]). She was instructed by her father in the principles of contentment and moderation, which she transmitted to her son, Aristippus *[SMITH I, 278]*. She is mentioned in *DL's Lives* [II, 72].

dung-hill Cocks: male domestic foul (roosters) that spend time near heaps of refuse or faeces in a farm-yard; 1601 Holland's *Pliny* 1.279 "Not only these cocks of game, but the very common sort of the dunghill" *[OED]*.

Contemned: despicable *[Bullokar, Cockeram]*.

plant: Knowledge.

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sage: (n.) an aromatic herb from Latin *salvia*: healing plant; (adj.) wise, discreet, judicious, having the wisdom of experience, from Latin *sapere*: be wise *[OCD]*. When one is aware of both definitions and their respective Latin roots, the word **sage** becomes very rich in meaning in the narrative's context. One can imagine the ailing narrator coming into *Instruction's* garden and finding a **sage** plant that will heal her of her malady, *Ignorance*, by giving her the wisdom of experience.

science: knowledge.

And taste...things aboue: i.e., the narrator's newly acquired knowledge has whetted her appetite for learning more about God.

thither: (arch.) to that place *[OED]*.

plant: knowledge.

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by it...doth beare: *Col.3.10*; i.e., knowledge is the one virtue that allows humans to most closely resemble God, for without it we are merely human shapes.

The minde...counted good: *Prov.19.2.*

Who wanteth ***Knowledge*****...Prophets pray:** *Jer.3.8; 10.25; Isaiah 59.8.*

And ***Hosea*****...runne astray:** *Hosea 4.1-6.*

practique: practical *[OED].*

speculate: (common in the 17th century; now rare or obs.) to observe or view mentally; to consider, examine, or reflect upon with close attention; to contemplate; to theorize upon *[OED].*

'Tis life...Christ to ***Know*****:** *John 17.3.*

Alexander**:** (356-323 B.C.) *Alexander the Great*, son of Philip of Macedonia, conqueror of Persia and Egypt. Speght repeats the story of Alexander's education under Aristotle from Plutarch's *Lives* [IV, 168]: Alexander "loved and cherished Aristotle no less... than if he had been his father, giving this reason for it, that as he had received life from the one [Philip], so the other [Aristotle] had taught him to live well."

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And made...must remaine: an autobiographical reflection showing Speght's sadness and frustration with the fact that although she has not yet satisfied her appetite for knowledge, the powers that be in the her patriarchal world insist she be grateful for the little she has been given and that she busy herself with other duties more befitting a woman.

a full fed beast: a reference to Joseph Swetnam, author of *The Arraignment of lewd, idle, froward and unconstant women; Or the Vanitie of them, choose you whether. With a Commendacion of wise, vertuous and honest Women*, 1615. This misogynistic tract was printed twice in 1615 and reprinted in 1616, 1617, 1619, 1622, 1628, 1629, 1634, 1637, 1645, 1660, 1667, 1682, 1700, and 1802 and it appeared twice in Dutch. It was answered first by Speght's *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617), then by Ester Sowernam's *Ester hath hang'd Haman: or an Answere to a lewd Pamphlet, entituled The arraignment of Women With the arraignment of lewd, idle, froward, and unconstant men, and Husbands*" (1617), and finally by Constantia Munda's *The Worming of a mad Dogge: or, A Soppe For Cerberus The Jaylor of Hell. No Confutation But A sharpe Redargution of the bayter of Women* (1617). It has been suggested that Swetnam's work also provoked a response from Daniel Tuvil who wrote *Asylum Veneris; or a Sanctuary for Ladies, Justly Protecting Them, their virtues and suficiencies, from the foule aspersions and forged imputations of traducing Spirits* (1616). However, Tuvil does not make direct reference to Swetnam as the others do, and there is an indication in the introduction of Tuvil's work that *Asylum Veneris* existed before Swetnam's work even appeared. In 1620, a dramatic comedy called *Swetnam, the Womanhater, arraigned by Women* was played at the Red Bull by the Late Queen's Servants. It draws from the works of Speght, Sowernam, Munda and Tuvil.

falling evill: epilepsy *[OED]*.

And with a *Mouzel*: mouzel = muzzle; a reference to Speght's earlier work, *A Mouzell for Melastomus*, that she wrote in response to Swetnam's *Arraignment*. See note ("a full fed beast") above.

chaps: jaws *[OED]*.

a selfe-conceited Creature: a retaliatory reference to Ester Sowernam, who claims to have begun writing a response to Swetnam's *Arraignment* immediately after reading his "patched and misshapen hotch-potch" [Shepherd 88]. After she started her work, though, she was told that a young "Minister's daughter" (Speght) had already written a response. Sowernam assumed that justice had been done and thus stopped her own writing. After she read Speght's work, however, she felt that Speght's attempt to defend women was too feeble, so she decided to go ahead with her own work, *Ester hath hang'd Haman*. Sowernam says: "I stayed my pen, being as glad to be eased on my intended labour, as I did expect some fitting performance of what was undertaken. At last the maiden's book [*A Mouzell for Melastomus*] was brought me, which, when I had likewise run over, I did observe that whereas the maid doth many times excuse her tenderness of years, I found it to be true in the slenderness of her answer: for the undertaking to defend women doth rather charge and condemn women" [Shepherd 87].

Pretertense: past tense *[OED]*.

childe of *Prudence*: a reference to Constantia Munda whose work, *The Worming of a madde Dogge: or a Soppe for cerberus the Jaylor of Hell*, is dedicated to her mother, Lady Prudentia Munda. Munda's response to Swetnam's work came after both Speght's and Sowernam's, and her borrowing from her predecessors is heavy. Speght's suggestion here is that even the "selfe-conceited" Sowernam was unable to quash Swetnam satisfactorily, and that Munda's work was thus necessary to make Swetnam "hold his tongue."

***Cerberus*:** the three-headed dog that guarded the entrance to hell or the Greek underworld *[OED]*.

soppe: something given (to a formidable or troublesome animal, person, etc., esp. *Cerberus*) to pacify, bribe *[OED]*.

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***Tophets* flames:** Hell; the name of the place in the Valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem used for idolatrous worship and later for depositing refuse, for which fires were kept burning *[OED]*.

***Canaan*:** the promised land; heaven; ancient name of Western Palestine *[OED]*.

perceiuing: Emendation page (page 39) at the end of *Mortalities Memorandum* indicates that this should read "pearcing."

my mother: Information about Speght's mother is meagre. We do not know her name or her date or place of birth or death. However, she probably died after the publication of *A Mouzell for Melastomus* (1617) and it is obvious that her death occurred before the composition of *Mortalities Memorandum* (1621), since this latter work was written in response to her death. It is known that Speght's father, James, married his second wife, Elizabeth Smith, on 12 February, 1621, less than a month after the registration of *Mortalities Memorandum*. For more, see "Biography" in the Introduction.

for aye: for ever *[OED]*.

lenifie: to assuage, mitigate, soften, soothe (pain, suffering, etc.); make less harsh *[OED]*.

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The roote...but fade: a vegetative metaphor of root and bough representing Speght's mother and herself respectively.

blaze: to proclaim; spread news about *[OED]*.

The sequell...paines requite: i.e., "view that which follows, (*Mortalities Memorandum*) in the right light and what you gain from it will compensate for the pain you feel when Death takes someone from you."

***Esto Memor Mortis*:** Latin, "Be mindful of death."

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***Elohim*:** one of the Hebrew names of god or of the gods; Jawweh, the God of Israel *[OED]*.

***In the beginning...and earth*:** *Gen.1.1.*

created for *his Glories sake*: *Prov.16.4.*

or'e-past: **or'e** is normally written **o're**; the apostrophe is in an unusual location.

***Adam* made:** *Gen.2.7.*

***Eue* of him at last:** *Gen.2.21-22.*

In *Eden* garden...paine of *Death*: *Gen.2.15-17.*

craue: (obs.) to demand a thing; to ask with authority or by right *[OED]*.

his owne he did but craue: i.e., "the fruit of one tree" (the knowledge of good and evil) was only God's to have or crave.

And Sathan...they eate: *Gen.3.4-6.*

ratifie: to confirm; to allow *[OED]*.

And *Elohim*...earst decreed: *Gen.3.16-19.*

wages: reward; recompense *[OED]*; this is also mentioned in *Rom.6.23*: "For the wages of sin is death."

fact: a thing done or performed; an action, deed, course of conduct *[OED]*.

***Death* must be the wages of their fact:** *Gen.2.17.*

of-spring: = offspring.

In *Adam all men die*: the first part of *1 Cor.15.22.*

By sinne...to raigne: *Rom.5.12.*

in *Christ shall all be made aliue*: the continuation of *1 Cor.15.22.*

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***Iehovah*:** the unspeakable Old Testament name of God, signifying his divine essence *[OED]*.

I: narrative voice.

mete: measure; appraise *[OED]*.

***Death* in sinne:** *Ephes.2.5.*

The Widowes...soules to die: *1 Tim.5.6.*

vnregenerated: devoid of spiritual awareness *[OED]*.

Prepostrously: disorderly, untoward, contrary to due course *[OED]*.

He liues and *dies*, but cannot *die* and liue: see note on TITLE PAGE "Liue to die...amongst the iust."

***The Childrens bread....will not giue*:** *Matt.15.26.*

***Death* to sinne:** *Rom.6.11.*

regenerate: spiritually renewed or reborn *[OED]*.

***Mortifie*:** bring (body, the flesh, passions, etc.) into subjection by self-denial or discipline *[OED]*.

Thus *dying* in this life, in *Death* he liues: see note on TITLE PAGE "Liue to die...amongst the iust."

***Death by sinne*:** *Rom.5.12.*

***Corp'rall Death*:** death of the actual, physical body which separates the soul from the body and allows the soul to live on with God and the body to return to dust; see Speght's own explanation on page 15, lines 7-24.

***Death eternall*:** eternal damnation by God, as outlined by Speght on page 14, lines 28-30, and page 15, lines 1-6.

destinate: appoint *[OED]*.

stipend: wage; reward; recompense *[OED]*.

Reprobate: one rejected by God; one who has fallen away from grace or religion; one lost in sin *[OED]*.

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second ***Death*****:** *Rev.20:14; 21:8.*

Which ***cannot...in Christ*****:** *Rom.8.1.*

Whose life...the hyest**:** *Col.3.3.*

The Prince, that swayes the scepter of a Realme: a common way of describing the authority or power of royalty; recall Portia's "mercy" speech in *The Merchant of Venice* [IV.i.190-193]: "His [the throned monarch] sceptre shows the force of temporal power,/ The attribute to awe and majesty,/ Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings;/ But mercy is above this sceptred sway."

Death **to dust:** *Gen.4.19.*

period: the goal; end to be attained *[OED].*

Epilogue of life: end of life; death.

dust returnes to earth**:** *Eccles.12.7.*

The spirit...his birth: this is the Christian notion of God breathing the holy spirit into the embryo from the moment of conception. See *Matthew 1.20; Mark 2.41 [HBD].*

***Death* was...a curse:** *Gen.3.19.*

Womans seede...Serpents head: *Gen.3.15.*

His: Christ, born of a woman.

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All things...beloued of God: this actually resembles *Rom.8.28* more than *Rom.8.1* which is indicated in the marginal reference.

Scourging rod: punishing, chastising, correcting rod *[OED]*.

God brings...out of euill: in the context of "scourging rod," possibly a reference to *Heb.12.6-11.*

from their labours they for euer rest: *Reuel.14.13.*

fettred: bound with fetters or chains; confined or restrained *[OED]*.

goale: obs. spelling of **jail**; it is difficult to say whether this spelling used from the 16th-18th centuries was merely a misspelling of **gaol(e)** after this itself became an archaism, or if **goale** was simply phonetic *[OED]*.

Bocardo: in general, a prison or dungeon; also the name of the prison in the old North Gate of the city of Oxford, pulled down in 1771 *[OED]*.

draught: (obs.) a cesspool, sink or sewer; a privy *[OED]*.

Euacuations: evacuated or excreted material from the bowels *[OED]*.

***From out...O Lord*:** *Psal.142.7*.

***Eliah* in...life require:** *1 Kings 19.4*.

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***Argia*:** *Solon* recounts the story of *Biton* and *Cleobis*, but instead of mentioning the name of their mother, he uses the term *Argia*, which simply means "a lady of Argos" *[Herodotus I.31]*. The name of *Biton* and *Cleobis'* mother was *Cydippe* *[OCCL]*.

***Biton* and *Cleobis*:** two Argives who drew their mother, *Cydippe* in a chariot a long distance to attend a festival of *Hera* (*Juno*). The youths were commended for their great feat by the men of Argos, but *Cydippe* prayed the goddess *Juno* to grant her sons the greatest blessing that they could receive. Soon afterwards, the youths fell asleep in the temple of the goddess and died as they slept, the goddess thus showing that it is better to die than to live *[OCCL]*. When *Croesus* asks

Solon to enumerate the happiest people on earth, *Solon* tells the story of *Biton* and *Cleobis* and concludes that "No living man is happy." This notion is similar to on by *Sophocles* who said: "Call no man happy until he is dead" *[Herodotus I.31; DL's Life of Solon I.50]*.

***Iuno*:** wife of *Jupiter*; also called *Hera [OCCL]*.

***Thracians*:** a warlike, barbarous people who inhabited what is today part of Greece and European Turkey *[MAR]*.

The *Thracians*...world *Good-night*: In Thracian society, "when a child is born all its kindred sit around about it in a circle and weep for the woes it will have to undergo now that it is come into the world, making mention of every ill that falls to the lot of humankind; when, on the other hand, a man has died, they bury him with laughter and rejoicing, and say that now he is free from a host of sufferings and enjoys complete happiness" *[Herodotus V.4]*.

***Dauids* Childe...for meate:** *2 Sam.12.20*; both occurrences of the pronoun "he" refer to David, not to his son who died.

***The godly...Esay* testifies:** *Esay 57.1*. **Esay** is an old spelling of **Isaiah**. The marginal reference is, thus, *Isaiah 57.1*.

***Ieroboams* sonne...him begun:** *1 Kings 14.13*; because God found something pleasing in *Jeroboam's* son's, *Abijah*, he "cut off" the line of descent in the house of *Jeroboam* by terminating *Abijah's* life.

inthralled: obs. form of **enthralled:** enslaved *[OED]*.

of-spring of the Deuill: *1 John 3.8*.

To some... walked in: In *Rev.2.21*, space is given to Jezebel to repent; other instances of the Lord allowing sinners to repent occur in *Hos.6.1-3*; *Lev.26.40-46*; *Num.14.18*; and *Psal.145.20*.

And other...no more: Some instances in scripture where the Lord does not tolerate persistent sinners occur in *Lev.26.14-39*; *Num.14.18*; *Psal.145.20*; and *Hos.7.13*.

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in fine: finally, in short *[OED]*.

***Death Corporall*...a dore:** reiteration of page 15, lines 21 and 24.

***Today thou*...soules reliefe:** *Luke 23.43*.

ballanced: to counterbalance or counterpoise one thing with another *[OED]*.

There Saints...of glorie: possible reference to *Rev.2.10* or to the 24 elders in *Rev.4.4* or to *Rev.19.8*.

Sunne doth...no eclips: *Rev.21.23-25*.

attended: according to the emendation page this should read **atteined**, which is an obs. form of **attained**: to reach; arrive at; to come into possession of *[OED]*.

The eye...heauenly Father: *1 Cor.2.9*.

Who doth...sheepe-fould gather: a reference to Christ as the good shepherd *[Mark 6.34* or possibly, *Rev.17.14]*.

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So shall...glorious place: *Philipp.3.21*.

the ***Corner-Stone*****:** *Ephes.2.20*.

Salomon **the Wise:** the son of David and Bathsheba, he is mentioned throughout *1 Samuel* and *1 Kings [HBD]*.

approbate: the noun **approbation**, meaning sanction or approval, did exist in Speght's time *[OED]*. She shortens the word here, making it resemble the obsolete form of the verb, for the sake of the rhyme scheme.

The day...*is borne*: the marginal reference is made to *Eccles.7.3*, but this is actually mentioned in *Eccles.7.1.*

***Lazars* friend...*Diues* foe:** *Luke 16.19-31; Lazarus*, a poor, diseased man was tormented in life but rewarded in heaven after he died, while *Dives*, (unnamed in the Bible, though commonly called this because it means "rich man" in Latin) who ignored the starving, sick *Lazarus* at his gate and who had all the comforts of life, died and went to hell where he was tormented.

assay: arch. form of **essay**, to attempt *[OED]*.

forraine: obs. form of **foreign** *[OED]*.

vncouth: unknown; unfamiliar; unaccustomed; strange *[OED]*.

wight: (arch.) a human being *[OED]*.

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***Simeon*:** a righteous and devout man of Jerusalem who received a revelation from the Holy Spirit that he would not die until he had seen Christ. The Holy Spirit guided him to the temple where Mary and Joseph had brought Jesus to have him circumcised and presented. *Simeon* performed these traditional rites and then, by singing the song of Simeon, or the *nunc dimittis*, he asked God to let him die. See *Luke 2.25-35*.

***nunc dimittis*:** *Luke 2.29*, so called because the first words of the song of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace," are from the Latin *nunc dimittis*, "now depart"; a declaration that one is willing to depart from life *[OED]*; this is also the dismissal in the Book of Common Prayer.

By their...be seene: PROVERB "Contraries being set the one against the other appear more evident" *[DPE (C630), ODEP]*.

Iet makes...white appeare: PROVERB "Black best sets forth white" *[DPE (B435)]*.

honie mixt with gall: PROVERB "Under Honey offtime lies bitter gall (poison);" "No honey without gall" *[DPE (H561, H566)]*; "O bitter sweete, or hunny mixt with gall" *[ODEP]*.

***Iuventus*:** Latin for youth.

***Infancie...Old Age*:** these stages of life are mentioned in T.B. La Primaud's *Fr. Acad.* (1586) line 531: "The parts are these: infancie, childhood, youth, adolescencie, virilitie and old age" *[OED]*; Philippe Aries in *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) suggests that while these ages existed in theory in the seventeenth century, the notions of childhood and youth were confused until the eighteenth century.

glasse of life: an hour glass; this metaphor is also used on page 30, line 9.

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pricking: piercing; smarting; having a wounding or paining effect *[OED]*.

incumbred: var. of **encumbered**: hampered, burdened *[OED]*.

***Middle-age*:** the period between Youth and Old Age; this term was in use prior to Speght's time *[OED]*.

lym: obs. form of **limb** *[OED]*.

***Auditus*:** (Latin) hearing.

***Visus*:** (Latin) sight.

***Gustus*:** (Latin) taste.

***Olfactus*:** (Latin) smell.

***Tactus*:** (Latin) touch.

Invectiue: abusive; vituperative; denunciatory *[OED]*.

obtrectations: (obs.) detraction; disparagement, slander, calumny *[OED]*.

creatures virulent: extremely malignant or violent creatures; animals that are highly injurious or fatal to life; creatures possessing venomous or strongly poisonous qualities *[OED]*.

squatts: heavy falls or bumps; severe or violent jars or jolts *[OED]*.

***Sol*:** (Roman mythology) the Sun (personified) *[OED]*.

Those dewes...doe descend: Formerly, dew was supposed to fall or descend softly from the heavens, whence numerous current phrases, figures, and modes of speech such as **dewfall** *[OED]*.

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vncouth: (obs. or arch.) unattractive; unpleasant; uncomfortable *[OED]*.

traffique: commerce; trade; bargaining *[OED]*.

***The weak...the wall*:** "The weakest goes to the wall" *[ODEP, EPPP, DPE (W185)]*.

The infant...decreped age: the notion that a baby's crying at birth presages life's miseries is found twice in *King Lear [IV.vi.182-3, IV.vi.186]* but ultimately comes from the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*. In this work, Socrates, citing Prodicus, claims: "What part of a lifetime is without its portion of griefs? Doesn't the infant cry out at the first moment of birth, beginning his life with distress? Certainly he lacks no suffering, but because of need, cold or heat, or a beating, he is distressed: he cannot yet tell what he is suffering, but only by the sound of his crying can he express his displeasure" (35).

affection: feeling or emotion *[OED]*.

Except affliction...affection moue: i.e., only when we are afflicted with something, distressed, or grieving will our affections or feelings move us to contemplate life's miseries.

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Mans life...Ship at Sea: this metaphor is often used in classical Greek literature; see Horace *[Odes I.14]*.

liking may be set aboue: *Col.3.2.*

That he...to *die*: *Philipp.1.23.*

And *Iob*...an end: *Job.6.8-9.*

naught: according to the emendation page, which incorrectly says this occurs on line 15 when it actually shows up on line 16, this should read "nought."

guilded: obs. form of **gild** *[OED]*.

Or bitter pills, though guilded to allure: the idea of covering up something bitter by making it look good is mentioned in Thomas Tuke's *A Treatise Against Painting and Tincturing of Men and Women: Against Murther and Poysoning: Pride and Ambition: Adulterie and Witchcraft* (1616). Tuke claims that women are seduced by cosmetics and that they lose all sense of shame when they apply these artificial products of the devil: "shee's but a *Guilded Pill*, composed of these two ingredients, *defects* of nature, and an *artificiall seeming* of *supplie*" (62).

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***Diues*:** see note on page 19.

That *Hezekiah*...world farewell: marginal reference should be made to

2 Kings 20.3-5, not *1 Kings 20.3-5*.

As also *Dauid...praise thee still*: *Psal.119.175.*

And Christ...him passe: *Luke 22.42.*

But *Hezekiah*... to sit: In the Geneva Bible, a note under *Esay 38.1* explains that Hezekiah wept as much out of "feare of Gods judgement" as for the fact that "he left no sonne to reigne after him: for as yet Manasseh was not born."

***Dauids* wish:** *Psal.119.175.*

Christs prayer: *Luke 22.42.*

cursed *Death* to die: *Gal.3.13.*

***The spirit's...is weake*:** *Mat.26.41.*

And like *Belshatsar*...wonted lookes: *Dan.5.6; King Belshazzar*, the son of King Nebuchadnezzar and last King of Babylon, held a great feast in which the silver and golden vessels that his father stole from a temple in Jerusalem were displayed and the gods of gold and silver, bronze, iron, wood and stone were praised. However, the feast was interrupted by the mysterious appearance of fingers writing on the wall which caused *Belshazzar's* colour to change and made him very weak. Daniel interpreted the strange writing and revealed that because *Belshazzar* did not learn humility from his father's trials and because he did not honour God, he would soon lose his Kingdom to the Medes and Persians.

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Lampe of life...quite extinct: *Prov.13.9* or *24.20.*

nie: obs. form of **nigh**: near *[OED].*

with *Balam*...may die: *Num.23.10; [HBD] Balaam,* the son of Beor, was asked by Balak, the King of Moab, to curse the armies of Israel. It appeared as if Balaam was about to do this until he received a message from God that he should bless the people rather than curse them. Balaam appears in the New Testament as an evil artist, a prophet who would sell his skill for the proper price without reference to the Word of God. *[See Deut.23:4,5; Josh 13:22; 24:9, 10; Neh.13.2; Mic.6.5: 2 Pet2:15; Jude 11; Rev.2:14.]*

He that liues...amisse: PROVERB *[DPE (L391)]* See note on TITLE PAGE.

sanctifyed: sanctification was a theological term describing the action of the Holy Spirit in sanctifying or making holy the believer, by the implanting within him of the Christian graces and the destruction of sinfull affections; the idea of perfect sanctification is the view held by some Protestants that the condition of freedom from sin (though not from ignorance or infirmities) is attainable in the present life *[OED].*

the *Death* of *Nabal*...stones to hell: *1 Sam.25.37; Nabal,* whose name means "fool," was a wealthy Calebite sheep and goat farmer who refused to offer food to *David* and his troops. Because *David* was insulted by this, he intended to kill *Nabal*. His plans were never realized, however, as the latter's wife, *Abigail*, intervened on her husband's behalf and offered a feast to *David* and his men. The day after the feast, she told her husband about *David's* former intentions and *Nabal's* "heart died within him, and he became as stone." Ten days later, *Nabal* died. *Abigail* later married *David*.

weale: obs. form of **weal**: well being; happiness, prosperity *[OED]*.

Like *Ioseph*...out true: *Gen.40.13-19*; *Joseph*, the oldest son of Rachel and Jacob, was one of the fathers of the tribes of Israel. During his imprisonment in Egypt, he was joined by the Pharoah's baker and butler, who had fallen out of favour with their ruler. *Joseph* was called upon to interpret the dreams that each of these officers of the Pharoah's court had. The dreams revealed their fate: the butler was to be restored to his former office; the baker was to be hanged.

PAGE 26

Mors: (Latin) Death.

it: sometimes used as possessive case, instead of "its"; e.g. "It's had **it** head bit off by **it** young" *[King Lear I.iv.236]*.

by Christs...it sting: *1 Cor.15.56-57.*

The sting...is *sinne*: *1 Cor.15.56*; this and the two following biblical excerpts are Easter sentences taken from the Book of Common Prayer.

To *Death*...boldnesse say: *Hosea 13.14.*

***Death* where's...thy victorie:** *1 Cor.15.55.*

maugre: (arch.) in spite of; notwithstanding the power of *[OED]*.

dissolution: termination of life; death *[OED]*.

respite: (obs.) respect, regard *[OED]*.

consolate: obs. verb: "to console" *[OED]*.

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exordium: (Latin) beginning.

Gaolor: see note for **goale** on page 16.

Aboue them...iustice see: above the wicked, there is Heaven, where God reigns and sees that justice is done.

Beneath them...their sight: beneath the wicked, there is Hell, which is a place of horror.

Iudge: the Devil.

censures: (obs.) to form or give an opinion of; to estimate, judge of, pass judgement on, criticize *[OED]*.

***Mortalitie* is...exact decree:** *Gen.3.19*.

deluge of...Decaying man: a reference to God's wrath apparent, for example, in the Noah story *[Gen.6.17]*, where God deluged the earth with rain for forty days and nights *[Gen.7.12]* because of the great wickedness of man *[Gen.6.5-7]*.

pregnantly: cogently; forcibly; clearly *[OED]*.

men *must die*: *Psal.89.48; Deut.31.14*.

Against: in view of, in anticipation of; in preparation for *[OED]*.

***Oportet*:** (Latin) "something compulsory", literally, "it must."

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speculate: (common in the 17th century; now rare or obs.) to observe or view mentally; to consider, examine, or reflect upon with close attention; to contemplate; to theorize upon *[OED]*.

he ***must die*****:** *Deut.31.14.*

vegetiues: that which lives and grows as plants do *[Bullokar]*.

Hyems**:** (obs.) winter; esp. in poetical personification *[OED]*.

elements: the first matter of visible substance, from whence all things take their beginning. There are four elements: fire, air, water, and earth *[Bullokar]*.

The elements...with heate: marginal reference should be to *2 Peter 3.10* not *1 Peter 3.10*.

Macrocosmus**:** the great world, the material universe, any great whole *[OED]*; in light of the marginal reference to *Luke 21.33* and Speght's phrase, "The *Macrocosmus* it must *passe away*," it would appear as if Speght simply meant "heaven and earth" by **Macrocosmus**.

Microcosmus**:** a little world; this term is sometimes applied to man, because his body being compared to the baser part of the world and his soul to the blessed Angels seems to signify that man is a little world, and that the whole world resembles a great man *[Bullokar]*; a little world, man *[Cockeram]*; man viewed as the epitome of the universe *[OED]*.

***Golgotha*:** the semitic name for **Calvary**, the site of Jesus Christ's crucifixion, mentioned in three of the gospels: *Matt.27.33*; *Mark.15.22*;
John 19.17 [HBD].

***Medes*:** the name of people from Media, which became a province in the Persian Empire in 549 B.C. when Cyrus the Great conquered the Medean overlord; mentioned especially in the biblical books of *Esther* and *Daniel [HBD]*.

The *Medes*...altred bee: *Dan.6.15*.

***all men once must die*:** *Heb.9.27*.

as infallible...their decree: in *Esther* and *Daniel*, the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians* are described as unalterable.

***We needs must die*:** *2 Sam.14.14*.

From earth...*must* returne: *Gen.3.19*.

descant: (poet.) melody, song *[OED]*.

Here is no abiding Cittie: *Heb.13.14.*

shittle: obs. form of **shuttle** *[OED]*; the Geneva Bible has "shittle," the King James Bible "shuttle".

a Weauers...swiftly runne: *Job 7.6*; this whole stanza reflects burial sentences from the Book of Common Prayer.

off: of.

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no whit: (arch.) not at all *[OED]*.

***Absolom* the faire:** the third son of *David* by his wife, *Maacah*; the story of *Absalom's* intemperate ambition and resulting death is told in *2 Sam.13-19 [HBD]*.

***Dauid* the Victor:** the story of the most powerful king of biblical Israel who ruled from about 1010 to 970 B.C. is told in *1 Sam.16:13* to *1 Kings 2.12*; his death is mentioned in *1 Kings 2.10 [HBD]*.

***Salomon* the wise:** see note on page 19; his death is mentioned in *1 Kings 11:41-43*.

***Cressus* the worldly rich:** (560 B.C.) *Croesus*, the fabulously wealthy and last King of Lydia who met ruin in a war against

Persia in 546 B.C. *[OCEL]*. When *Croesus* asks *Solon* to enumerate the happiest people on earth, he recounts the story of *Cleobis* and *Biton;* see note on page 17 *[Herodotus I.26-55; DL's Life of Solon I.50-51; Plutarch's Lives III.331]*.

***Dives* the wretch:** see note on page 19.

***Sampson* the strong:** an early Israelite hero; *Samson's* downfall came when he revealed to the Philistine, *Delilah*, that his hair was the source of his strength . When he was asleep, she had his hair shaved off and she then told the other Philistines, who took him and put out his eyes and enslaved him. His death is mentioned in *Judges 16:30-31*.

***Lazarus dead...also die*:** *Luke 16.22*; see note on page 19.

vntil doomes day: to the end of the world; until the Last Judgement *[OED]*.

earths bowels: the grave.

carking: (arch.) burdensomely *[OED]*.

Like *Iehues...Iorams* heart: *2 Kings 9.24*; *Joram*, son of Ahab, was the King of Israel, but he did what was evil in the eyes of the Lord. Therefore, the Lord chose *Jehu*, the son of Jehoshaphat, to be the new King of Israel and proclaimed that

Jehu would strike down the house of Ahab (*2 Kings 9.6-7*). At their next encounter, just outside Jezreel, *Jehu* shot an arrow straight through *Joram's* heart.

***Dauid* must... means to deuoure:** marginal reference should be *1 Kings 2.1-2* not just *1 Kings 2.2*.

Beesome: obs. form of **besom:** any agent that cleanses, purifies, or sweeps away things material or immaterial; a broom *[OED]*.

***Mortuus est*:** (Latin) "he is dead"; *Gen.5.5*.

***Catastrophe*:** a final event; a conclusion, generally unhappy; a disastrous end *[OED]*. An Aristotelian term for the downfall of the powerful.

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Great *Alexander*: see note on page 8.

Records of...famous acts: The three main sources in which the tales of Alexander are recorded are Plutarch's *Lives*, Rufus's *Historiae Magni Alexandri* and Arrian's *Anabasis* and *Indica*. Alexander's story is also briefly retold in *1 Macabees 1-7*.

maugre: (arch.) in spite of; notwithstanding the power of *[OED]*.

***Methushelah*:** the oldest of the Biblical patriarchs, who lived 969 years *[Gen.5.27]*.

sand out of his glasse was runne: see note on page 20.

From *Dauid...Ionathan* away: *David* receives news of *Saul* and *Jonathan's* Death in *1 Sam.31.2* and he mourns their deaths in *2 Sam.1.7-27;* David and Jonathan were favourite Renaissance examples of ideal male friendship.

Children of their Parents it bereaues: perhaps an autobiographical reflection on Speght's own mother's death.

have for aye: see note on page 10.

diuorce: Speght may mention the way in which death causes the divorce or disunion of a husband and wife here because she is upset over her widowed father's impending marriage to Elizabeth Smith. See "Biography" in the Introduction.

***Tullies*:** (106-43 B.C.) *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, Roman orator and statesman, was murdered by agents of Antony (2nd Triumvirate) on 7 December, 43; known for his clear, elegant style of writing *[OCCL];* *Cicero's* writing was perhaps the single most important stylistic model of English Renaissance writers.

***Deaths* vigour...they came:** *Gen.3.19.*

The third and last: of the motives moving man to meditate on death; see page 27, line 25.

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***The Storke...seasons* know:** *Jer.8.7.*

***punctum*:** (obs.) a point of time, an instant *[OED]*.

Preter time: past time; the past *[OED]*.

instant: (arch.) now present; now existing or happening *[OED]*.

imploy: obs. form of **employ**: the act of making use of time or opportunities *[OED]*.

Some tender...the tree: the comparison of infants to "blooming blossoms" recalls the metaphor that Speght uses in *The Dreame* (page 11, line 1) when talking about her mother's death (the root) and her own grief (fading boughs). Perhaps this is an autobiographical reference to her older sister, Rachel Speght, who died in infancy. See "Biography" in Introduction.

***Dauids* young...*must die*:** *2 Sam.12.28.*

greedie Death...vngath'red bee: again, the vegetative metaphor used above and in *The Dreame*.

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currant: obs. form of **current:** course or progress; course of time or events *[OED]*.

race: see note on page 2.

want: starvation, famine; penury, destitution *[OED]*.

Some drown'd...the Lord: This may be an autobiographical allusion to Speght's godmother's eldest son, Osbert Moundford, who had been employed by Prince Henry in Flanders and who drowned in December, 1614 on the Goodwin Sands upon his return to England.

Pope *Adrian*...Gnatt: Speght is most likely referring to the only English pope in history, Nicholas Breakspear, *Pope Adrian IV*. He was pope from 4 December, 1154 to 1 September, 1159. Donald Attwater, in *A Dictionary of Popes from Peter to Pius XII*, explains that *Adrian IV* died of quinsy at Anagni on 1 September, 1159 and was buried at St. Peter's in Rome. His tomb was opened in 1607 and the complete body of a very small man was found inside. That *Adrian* was stifled by a gnat may have been a popular myth existing in Speght's time, but there appears to be no historical evidence for this claim.

Old *Anacreon*...Grape: (563-478 B.C.) a lyric poet born at Teos in Ionia. He wrote chiefly light and playful songs of love and wine and was much imitated in all periods. There are grounds for thinking he ended his days in Thessaly, but the date and place of his death are unknown *[OCCL]*. He is said to have died choked by a grape-stone *[OCEL]*.

A little hayre...great *Fabius*: (c.275-203 B.C.) *Fabius Maximus*, "Cunctator," or "the Delayer," was appointed dictator after the Roman defeat at Lake Trasimene (217 B.C.) *[OCCL]*. He is included in Plutarch's *Lives* [I, 372-404]. That *Fabius* was choked by a hair may have been the popular belief at Speght's time, but it is not mentioned in any of the accounts of his life.

***Saphira*:** *Sapphira*, wife of Ananias who, like him, died after misrepresenting a gift to the apostles *[Acts 5.1-11]*; *[Benet]* a female liar.

***Moses must goe die*:** *Deut.32.50.*

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***monitors*:** something that reminds or gives warning *[OED]*.

***Young men...must die*:** PROVERB "Young men may die, old men must die"; "Of Young-Men die many, of old men scape not any" *[DPE (M609, M566)]*.

meed: in early use, that which is bestowed in requittal of labour or service, or in consideration of (good or ill) desert; wages, hire, recompense, reward *[OED]*.

trump: = trumpet *[OED]*.

***Vtinam*:** (obs.) an earnest wish or fervent desire such as that in *Deut.32.29*: "O that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!" *[OED]*.

Men liue... to liue: PROVERB; see note on TITLE PAGE "Liue to die...amongst the iust."

Legate from a King: an ambassador; delegate, messenger *[OED]*.

King of Kings: Jesus or God, as mentioned in *Rev.17.14*.

Welcome to bid: in expressions such as "to bid welcome," **bid** means little more than "say, utter, express" *[OED]*.

***as the...it lye*:** *Eccl.11.3*.

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***Ierusalem* her...her lot:** *Rev.18.21-24* describes the desolation of Jerusalem.

foyled: overthrown, defeated; beaten off, repulsed *[OED]*.

sith: since.

pyke: a pointed projection or sharp stick; pick *[OED]*.

Carelesse securitie: see page 14, line 4.

ghostly foe: Death.

Centre in our Circle set: this phrase appears to be proverbial, but is not mentioned in any of the proverb dictionaries; it would appear to mean that humans are the targets of death's arrow or "poyson-pointed pyke", just as in the world of archery, the arrow is aimed at the centre of the circular target; see Thomas M. Greene's article "Ben Jonson and the Centered Self" in *Studies in English Literature* 10 (1970): 325-45 for Jonson's use of the centre/circle figure.

Pauls dying daily: *1 Cor.15.31.*

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Into the...out againe: *1 Tim.6.7.*

this Sea...home remote: the notion that human life resembles a ship's journey at sea is mentioned on page 23.

The *Doue*...return'd againe: *Gen.8.9.* For the whole *Noah* story see *Gen.5-9.*

wight: see note on page 19.

The soul of *Dauid*...to obtaine: *Psal.42.1.*

father of the faithfull: Abraham, as noted in *Gal.3.7.*

The father...did remaine: *Heb.11.9.*

crucifie: to mortify, put to death *[OED].*

by the spirit mortifie the flesh: *Gal.5.24.*

decke: to cover with garments; to array, attire, adorn *[OED].*

costly roabes...to eate: PROVERB "The finest Cloth is eaten by moths." *[DPE (C429)].*

waigh: obs. form of **weigh** *[OED].*

materiall: the matter from which an article, fabric or structure is made; in this context, Speght notes how humans are made from the earth or dust *[OED].*

life is...the Winde: *Job.7.7.*

swift eagles...their pray: *Job.9.26.*

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Man is...to grasse: *1 Pet.1.24.*

it: sometimes used as possessive case, instead of "its"; see note on page 26.

Our dayes...like smoake: *Psal.102.3.*

Bauens: form of **Bavin**, meaning brushwood, firewood *[OED]*.

Ship which...the Sea: *Job.9.26.*

succinct: brief *[OED]*.

momentanie: (obs., very common in the 16th and 17th centuries) pertaining to the moment, momentary, transitory, evanescent *[OED]*.

Vnto a shadow...life compare: *Job.8.9.*

To vanitie...a dreame: *Job.20.8.*

resembling: (arch.) comparing or likening (a person or thing) *[OED]*.

Dauid's **resembling...a span:** *Psal.39.5.*

If happinesse...man appeares: see Ben Jonson's poem, "It is Not Growing Like a Tree."

the *Elephant*...two hundred yeares: Contemporary evidence that Speght was not the only one who believed that elephants and stags lived for two hundred years can be found in Topsell's *Bestiary* (1607).

mortall man...counted old: *Psal.90.10*.

When *Xerxes*...hundred yeares: son of *Darius* and *Atossa*, succeeded his father in Persian War in 486 B.C. *[OCCL]*. The story about him weeping for his men can be found in *[Herodotus VII, 45-46]*. He is mentioned often in Plutarch *[Lives I.235,240,241,245-250,253,260; II.289,292,358; III.162,278; IV.19.208,209; V.421,422; and Morals]*.

ingaged: (obs.) form of **engage**: to bind by a contract or formal promise; to render liable for a debt to a creditor *[OED]*.

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restor'd: to make return or restitution (anything previously taken away); to repay *[OED]*. God lends life to a person at birth; the person must give it back at death. This trope appears, for example, in the play *Everyman*.

Diues: see note on page 19.

Inlarge his Barnes: *Luke 12.19* explains that *Dives* had so much grain that he had to enlarge his barns to make room for it all.

disport: (obs.) to divert from serious activities; to amuse, play wantonly, to occupy oneself pleasurably; to relax, to entertain *[OED]*.

Till just...that night: *Luke 12.20*.

contrition: the condition of being bruised in heart; sorrow or affliction of mind for some fault or injury done *[OED]*.

preter sinne: earlier sin.

For setling...our estate: making a will.

no coales to kindle strife: PROVERB "From blowing coles, there comes a flame, and from ill words a quarel," "To blow coals, to raise differences between Parties" *[DPE (C465)]*.

When *Hezekiah... must die*: *Esay 38.1*. See notes on page 17 and 24.

paradigma: see note on Dedication Pages.

craue: see note on page 13.

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els: else *[OED]*.

Gods elect: those people who God chooses to live by his will and to be his servants; through faith and discipleship, God's followers are called his "elect" *[HBD]*. According to George Seldes' book, *The Great Thoughts*, John Calvin in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536)* thus explains God's elect: "God foreordained, for His own glory and the display of His attributes of mercy and justice, a part of the human race, without any merit of their own, to eternal salvation, and another part, in just punishment of their sin, to eternal damnation."

Afore: (arch. and dial.) of place: before, in front of, in advance of; of rank or importance: in precedence of, above *[OED]* .

period: death.

EMENDATION PAGE

Page 23. line 15. for *naught* read *nought*: this should read "page 23. line 16."

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